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THE

# PREFACE.

WHOEVER duly conſiders the vulgar Management of Youth in our Grammar-Schools, will, perhaps, ſee Cauſe to wonder, that amidſt the noble Endeavours for the Advancement of Learning, a right Method of Education has been, in a Manner, wholly overlooked. Whilſt the great Men in the Commonwealth of Letters have been buſily and ſucceſsfully employed in Improving and Carrying on the ſeveral Arts and Sciences, they have neglected, what was equally neceſſary, the Care of Youth: Had this been as duly attended to as the Importance of the Matter required, their Labours would have been of vaſtly more Uſe to Mankind. Grammars and Notes upon Authors we have in Abundance, indeed, and more by far than are good for any Thing; yet theſe, where they are uſeful, are only ſo to ſuch as have made a conſiderable Progreſs in the Latin Tongue. But Beginners are left wholly without any proper Helps; nay, ſo far from being provided with them, that the World has hitherto been inſenſible

of

*of the Neceſſity of them. Our great Men have thought Things of this Kind below their Notice: There was more Fame and Credit to be got by writing for Men than Children, and therefore the latter have been ſtrangely neglected.*

*As the Courſe of Life I have been engaged in has obliged me to turn my Thoughts this Way, I have ſome Time ago publiſhed my Notions as to this Matter in a little Treatiſe, entitled,* An Eſſay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools, *wherein the Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity of Literal Tranſlations of the eaſier Authors of the Latin Tongue, for the Uſe of Beginners, is pretty fully treated of. A ſmall Share of Senſe and Conſideration might, in my Opinion, be ſufficient to convince any one of that Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity; but if the Reader wants Satisfaction, I muſt refer him to that Treatiſe; for I care not to give myſelf the Trouble of repeating over again what I have there ſaid. The Caſe is ſo very plain, and the Practice of our Schools ſo very abſurd, that whatever Men may think now, I am of Opinion, Poſterity, when the World is grown wiſer with Reſpect to the Buſineſs of Education (if we may ſuppoſe any Memory of the preſent Method may be conveyed to future Generations) will be a little ſurprized at the Weakneſs of their Forefathers. And if Foreigners have in this Caſe no better Management amongſt them than we have, the Want of Care and Thought in a Matter of ſuch vaſt Importance as the Education of Youth undoubtedly is, is a Reproach to the Age we live in, and will, ere long, be thought ſo, whatever ſome inconſiderate People may now judge of the Matter.*

*The following Tranſlation of* Cornelius Nepos *is almoſt every where literal, and therefore the Reader is not to expect the Language of it ſhould be very ſmooth or polite. All, that know any Thing of the Latin Tongue, know how widely the Diction or Manner of Expreſſion in that Language, differs from that of our own; and how hard it is, in a Tranſlation from the Latin, to keep any Thing cloſe to the Letter of the Original, without being barbarous or unintelligible. My Engliſh is, I hope, neither unintelligible, nor abſolutely barbarous; but if it appears, here and there, ſomewhat aukward, ſtiff, or unfaſhionable, it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, without taking a Freedom utterly inconſiſtent with the Deſign.*

*This Performance is, in the firſt Place, and principally, intended for ſuch Boys as are not able to read the Author at all without Help; and for ſuch, if I have been ſo happy as to acquit myſelf but tolerably well in it, I am ſure it will be very helpful, and ſave Abundance of Time that muſt otherwiſe be thrown away, in toſſing over the Leaves of a Dictionary, to little or no Purpoſe. The Notes are in Engliſh, becauſe otherwiſe they would have been wholly uſeleſs to thoſe for whoſe*

*Benefit*

*Benefit they were chiefly intended. I have oftentimes wondered at the Fancy of loading the easier Classicks with a vast Number of Latin Notes, where those, that could read the Author at all, would but seldom want Help, and those, that could not, would be able to read the Notes no more than the Text. Though this be as plain as any Thing can be, yet the Jest of writing Latin Notes for Beginners has been carried so far, that a learned* Irishman *has muffled up poor* Erasmus *in his* Colloquies *with a large cumbersome Dress of this Kind. The same Gentleman will, perhaps, do as much in Time for* Esop *and* Cordery; *nay, he seems to lie under some Obligation to it, if he will go through stitch with his Work, and render his Method of Education complete.*

2. *This Book is designed likewise for the Use of such, as, having got a pretty good Insight into the Latin Tongue at School, but through Disuse have forgot it, are desirous to recover it again; which may be done with a great deal of Ease, by the Help of this, and some other Classick Authors, to be published in the same Manner. One Hour or two employed that Way every Day for a Year together, will bring such to read Prose with Ease and Pleasure; after which the Poets will not be difficult for them to understand by the Help of such Notes as they are published with. So that I am not wholly without Hopes, I may have done a Piece of acceptable Service to such Gentlemen, as are desirous to regain the Skill they had acquired in the Latin Tongue at School, but have since lost it. Few grown People will ever have the Patience to hammer out such a Language as the Latin, by the Help of a Dictionary, that would require more Time, than any one in ten thousand either can or will spare: But in this Way of proceeding, the Regaining the Latin Tongue will be but a new Kind of Diversion, the World has hitherto been unacquainted with. The Time, they need to employ that Way, is less than those, who are the most taken up with Business, usually spend upon their Pleasures. If such therefore shall think fit to encourage this Way of publishing the Classicks, I shall, if God give me Life and Health, take Care to supply them with such as are most proper for their Purpose, with all convenient Speed.*

3. *The Book is not only designed for the lower Forms in a School, to bring them readily and easily to the Reading of the Latin Prose Authors, but likewise for the higher Forms, and such as can read them pretty well, without any such Help, as well to bring them to a more compleat and perfect Acquaintance with them in the most expeditious Manner, as likewise to an Imitation of their Style, by rendering the Translation into the Original Latin of the Author. And indeed, I do not think there is any other Way to bring Boys at School to any*

Thing

*Thing of a tolerable Latin Style, but this. Conſtant Converſation, with a little Help from Grammar, is, in my Judgment, the beſt and moſt eaſy Method of attaining to a ready and proper Uſe of any Foreign Language. For very little can be done in the Way of Converſation at School. For to confine the Boys to the Talking of Latin amongſt themſelves, before they know any Thing almoſt of the Language, is ridiculous, and the moſt effectual Means, that could poſſibly be thought of, to prevent their ever ſpeaking or writing it, with any tolerable Exactneſs and Propriety: The Speaking of a Language, any one has learned to ſpeak pretty well, is the Way to be ſure to retain it, as likewiſe to uſe it with greater Fluency and Freedom; but that is not what we are here enquiring after, but a Method of attaining a tolerable Propriety in the writing and ſpeaking of Latin. This I never yet knew done, ſo much as in one ſingle Inſtance, in any School, that has come within the Reach of my Knowledge, or indeed any Thing like it. Nay, I have talked with very ingenious Men, and good Judges, becauſe Perſons of conſiderable Experience in that Way, who looked upon the bringing up of Boys at School to a true Latin Style wholly impracticable. Though I will not ſay ſo, yet it is certainly a Matter of very great Difficulty, and I queſtion very much, whether any Method that can be taken with them, will be found generally ſucceſsful, or in any reaſonable Time, beſides this I here recommend. All the Grammar, indeed, neceſſary for the Purpoſe, may eaſily be taught them; but when that is done, the Main of the Difficulty is ſtill behind, as every one is ſenſible, that knows any Thing of the Latin Tongue. A ready Uſe of proper Terms, or of proper Phraſes or Forms of Expreſſion upon all Occaſions, ſeems hardly attainable in any reaſonable Time, or the longeſt Term of the Continuance of Boys at Grammar Schools, but in the Method I propoſe. Literal Tranſlations they are to begin with; and after they have gone through four or five Authors, in the Method of rendering Tranſlations into the very original Latin of the Authors, they are to be advanced to Tranſlations of greater Freedom, wherein the Propriety, Elegance, and Beauty of their Engliſh Tongue, is kept to with the ſtricteſt Regard. This Method of Proceeding is next to Converſation, and has, in one Reſpect, the Advantage of it; becauſe they will thus be ſupplied with better Latin for their Engliſh, as oft as they want it, than any, even the greateſt Maſters of the Latin Tongue, could pretend to furniſh them with in the Way of Converſation. And though I may, I believe, without Vanity, pretend to underſtand the Latin Tongue, as well as a great many of my Profeſſion, yet I am not aſhamed to own, that I expect to receive a great deal of Benefit myſelf, from this Way of uſing the Books I propoſe to publiſh according*

*ing*

*ing to the present Model. It is certainly the most ready, expeditious Method that can be taken at School, to furnish the Mind with a Plenty of Words, and a Variety of Phrases and Expressions for the same Sense: And that without any Danger of Error, which the Use of Dictionaries and Phrase Books would be attended with: For none indeed can receive any great Benefit from them, for the writing of Latin, but such as are good Judges in the Language, and are well acquainted with the Idiom thereof already.*

*4. The Classicks published in this Method will likewise be of great Use to such Foreigners, as understand Latin, and have a Mind to learn the English Tongue.*

*I would not have the Reader mistake my recommending the Use of literal Translations of the Classick Authours, for the several Purposes above-mentioned, as a Commendation of my present Performance. It was never so intended by me in the least. It may be very true, that the Classicks, literally translated by a skilful Hand, may be highly useful upon all those Accounts; and yet as true that I am not equal to such an Undertaking. Whether I am or not must be left to the Judgment of the Learned, by whose Verdict I am content the Matter should be determined. But I am somewhat suspicious the Unlearned will be the most forward to censure: And perhaps a pert Undergraduate will be able to find more Faults in a single Line, than his Tutor in them all put together. But I am very little concerned about the Censure of such Sort of Worthies. The Esteem of Men of true Learning, Virtue, and Candour, I shall ever value above every Thing, but those noble Qualifications themselves; for the Sneers and Reflections of such as may be destitute of them, I despise them just as much as I value the former.*

*I must desire my Reader to take Notice, that such Words as I found necessary or convenient to insert in the Translation, either to render the Sense more clear, or the English smooth, and have none to answer them in the Original, are in a different Character.*

*If any one, otherwise satisfied with my Performance, but prejudiced against this Method of proceeding with Boys, (for there are unaccountable People in the World) will but please to make Trial of it for one Half Year, in which Time, at the worst, it can do no great Harm; if such a one does not find his Account in it very much to his own Satisfaction, he has my Consent to think and speak of me as hardly as he pleases, and the Nature of the Thing will justify: Let me pass with him for a Fool, who have given myself a great deal of Pains to no Purpose; I neither expect nor desire any Quarter. But if a Boy should be found to go effectually and successfully through the whole Book, in this Method, in less Time, than without the Help*

*here provided for him, he could poſſibly read a fourth Part of it, (to ſpeak within Compaſs) I hope I may then be thought to deſerve Thanks for what I have already done, and Encouragement for what I further deſign in the ſame Method.*

*I have prefixed to the Lives* Gerard Voſſius's *Account of our Author. As I do not deſign it for the Reading of Boys at School by the Way of Leſſon, but to gratify the Curioſity of ſuch as may be deſirous to know ſomething of the Life and Character of the Author they read, many of whom may not be able to underſtand the Latin of* Voſſius, *I have tranſlated it with more Freedom than I was at Liberty to take with* Cornelius Nepos. *I ſhall in Time, if I meet with Encouragement, publiſh a Claſſick Author or two, with Tranſlations of the like Kind with this of* Nepos's *Life.*

GER.

GER. JOANNES VOSSIUS, DE CORNELIO NEPOTE.

*Cornelius Nepos & ante Cæſaris dictaturam, & eo dictatore, & poſtea, vixit. Hieronymus in Chronico Euſebiano refert illum ad annum Auguſti quartum. Nec cuiquam repugnem, colligenti inde tum demum divulgare ea cœpiſſe opera, quibus maximè inclaruit. Padi erat accola, teſte Plinio lib.* iii. *cap.* xviii. *unde Catullo epigrammate primo, Italus; Auſonio autem epiſt.* xxiv. *Gallus vocatur: nempe quia Italia Tranſpadana diceretur Gallia Togata. De urbe aut patria quicquam ſe habere comperti, negat Elias Vinetus, in Auſon. Idyll.* vii. *At Veronenſem fuiſſe, in Leandri Alberti Italiâ lego: uti & in Coſmographiâ optimi atque amiciſſimi quondam viri, Pauli Merulæ. Imò ex Veronenſium hiſtoricorum ſyllabo (quem doctiſſimus ampliſſimuſque Alexander Becellus, Veronenſis Urbis Cancellarius, fecit, ac illuſtriſſimus Comes, Fernandus Nogarola, vir ut genere, ita literarum*

GERARD VOSSIUS's LIFE OF *CORNELIUS NEPOS.*

Cornelius Nepos lived before and under the Dictatorſhip of Ceſar, and after it too. Jerom in Euſebius's Chronicle places him under the fourth Year of Auguſtus's Reign. Nor ſhall I much diſpute with any one, that may from thence pretend to infer, that he began at that Time to publiſh the Works, he was afterwards ſo very famous for. He lived nigh the Po, as appears from Pliny, B. 3. ch. 18. For which Reaſon he is called by Catullus, in his firſt Epigram, an Italian; and by Auſonius, in his 24th Epiſtle, a Gaul, becauſe that Part of Italy beyond the Po was called Gallia Togata. Elias Vinetus, upon the 7th Idyllium of Auſonius, tells us, he was never able to make any Diſcovery as to the Place of his Nativity. But I find in Leander Albertus's Account of Italy, that he was a Native of Verona, as likewiſe in the Coſmography of that very worthy Gentleman, and formerly my very good Friend, Paul Merula. Nay, I further perceive, from a Collection of the Hiſtorians of Verona, (which that

*terarum ſtudio nobiliſſimus, cum v. cl. Laurentio Pignorio, atque is mecum communicavit, intelligo, natum fuiſſe Nepotem in Hoſtiliâ; qui Veronenſium vicus eſt, Tacito, Plinio, Caſſiodoro, & Antonino in Itinerario memoratus, hodieque Eccleſiaſticæ Veronenſium juriſdictioni ſubditus. Hiſtoricus hic Ciceronis amicus familiaris à Gellio vocatur, lib.* xv. *cap.* 28. *Chronica ſcripſiſſe, teſtis & idem Gellius, lib.* xxvi. *cap.* xxi. *In his, pro triplici tempore, ἀδήλῳ, μυθικῷ καὶ ἱστορικῷ (de quibus ex Varrone, & aliis, libro de arte hiſtoricâ diximus) tres videtur ſcripſiſſe libros; ac ſingulis unius temporis narrationem eſſe complexus. Sanè tres libros feciſſe Nepotem, quibus omne ævum comprehenderit, liquidò teſtatur Catullus initio Hendecaſyllaborum. Nec hiſtoricum tempus ab eo ſolùm eſſe tractatum, indicio eſt illud Auſonii:* Apologos Titiani, & Nepotis Chronica, quaſi alios apologos (nam & ipſa inſtar fabularum ſunt) ad nobilitatem tuam miſi. *Item ex eo, quod Tertullianus in Apologetico adverſus gentes (ubi eum inter antiquitatum commentatores diſertim reponit) dicit, haud aliud Saturnum, quàm hominem, promulgâſſe. Quod etiam Lactantius tradit, lib.* i. *cap.* xiii. *Reliquit præterea libros illuſtrium virorum, quorum Gellius*

very learned and honourable Perſon Alexander Becellus, Chancellor of Verona, made, and the moſt illuſtrious Count Fernand Nogarola, a Gentleman as conſiderable for his Learning as Quality, communicated to the famous Laurentius Pignorius, from whom I had the Favour of a Sight of it; I perceive, (I ſay) that Nepos was born in Hoſtilia, which is a Village in the Territory of Verona, mentioned by Tacitus, Pliny, Caſſiodorus, and Antoninus in his Itinerary, and is at this Day ſubject to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of Verona. Our Hiſtorian is called by Gellius, B. 15. ch. 28. an intimate Friend of Cicero, and that he wrote a Chronicle, we have the Teſtimony of the ſame Gellius, B. 26. chap. 21. And agreeably to that triple Diviſion of Time into Uncertain, Fabulous, and Hiſtorical, (of which I have given an Account out of Varro and others, in my Treatiſe of the Art of writing Hiſtory) he ſeems to have divided it into three Books, and, in each of theſe, to have compriſed a Narrative of each reſpective Time. For, that Nepos wrote three Books, in which he comprehended the whole Series of Time, Catullus, in the Beginning of his Hendecaſyllaba, declares in expreſs Terms; and that the hiſtorical Time was not the ſole Subject of his Chronicle appears pretty plainly, from this Paſſage in Auſonius: *I have ſent to your Highneſs the Apologues of Titian, and Nepos's*

*lius meminit, lib.* xi. *cap.* viii. *& Servius in* i *Æn. Eorum librum* i. xv. *&* xvi. *citat Charisius. Ex his habemus viginti duos exterarum gentium imperatores. Cæteris libris egisse de Romanis hæc ejus verba ostendunt in extremâ Hannibalis vitâ:* Sed nos tempus est hujus libri facere finem, & Romanorum explicare imperatores; quo facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri præferendi sint, possit judicari. *Operis ejus genuina inscriptio patet ex ultimis hisce præfationis verbis*; Quare ad propositum veniemus, & in hoc exponemus libro Vitas Excellentium Imperatorum. *Præter Imperatores seorsum exarâsse librum de Regibus, argumento hæc erunt, quæ Timoleontis vitæ subdit:* Hi fere fuere Græciæ gentis duces, qui memoriâ digni videantur, præter reges; namque eos attingere noluimus, quod omnium res gestæ separatim sunt relatæ: Neque tamen hi admodum sunt multi. *Externi imperatores, quos habemus, Æmilii esse Probi, à multis creduntur. Qui error inde provenit, quod librario id fuerit nomen, qui vitas eas partim suâ partim patris & matris manu scriptas, Theodosio obtulit. Hoc ita esse, ostendunt versiculi, qui vitis istis præmitti in MSS. solent. Ac*

*Nepos's Chronicle, as containing another Set of Apologues (for they are indeed no better than Fables)* as likewise fro what Tertullian in his Apology against the Gentiles (when he expressly reckons him amongst the Writers of Antiquities) says, that he made Saturn to be no more than a Man. Which Account Lactantius likewise gives of him, B. 1. ch. 13. He left besides the Lives of several illustrious Men, which Gellius makes mention of, B. 11. ch. 8. and Servius on the first Æneid. Charisius quotes the 1st, 15th, and 16th Book; of these we have 22 Commanders of Foreign Nations. And that in his other Books he treated of the Romans, these Words of his in the latter End of Hannibal's Life sufficiently shew: *But it is now Time for us to put an End to this Book, and give you the Lives of the Roman Commanders, that, by comparing the Actions of both, the Readers may judge which ought to have the Preference.* The proper Title to this Work appears plainly from these concluding Words in his Preface: *Wherefore we shall now proceed to the Execution of our Design, and in this Book give an Account of the Lives of the excellent Commanders.* That he wrote the Lives of several Kings, besides these Commanders, is plain from the Words following the Life of Timoleon: *These were in a manner all the Greek Commanders worth our Notice, besides Kings; for we had no Design of meddling*

*with*

*Ac ne Æmilium, nec Theodosiani ævi quenquam, eorum esse librorum auctorem, abunde arguit pura & Romana dictio. Opinetur aliquis, ut Trogus ab Justino, ita ab Æmilio, qui sub Theodosio vixit, in compendium esse redactum Nepotem: Sed aliud suadet operis concinnitas, & illa præfandi ratio, quæ est in Epaminondæ vitâ, ac in Pelopidâ imprimis, ubi brevitatem justam polliceatur. Attamen sententia hæc, licet erronea, minus periculi habeat, dummodo extra controversiam maneat, Æmilium omnia de purissimis Nepotis fontibus hausisse. Sane Tulliani esse ævi scriptorem, neq; alium quàm Nepotem; tum veterum aliquot librorum indicio cognoscitur; tum etiam, quod ad Pomponium Atticum (cujus idem rogatu de vitâ Catonis librum fecit) vitæ istæ scribantur: utcunque id in quarto miscellaneorum suorum neget Hieronymus Magius; qui ipsâ Nepotis præfatione satis refellitur. Accedit & altera ratio. Nam his in libris ea legere est, quæ opus hoc scriptum esse clamant, quo tempore Pompeius & Cæsar plus poterant, quam liberè in Rep. expediret. Ea Lambinus loca congessit, ut nihil attineat illa hic reponere. Nec libris istis de viris illustribus solum persecutus est excellentes*

*with them, having already written their Lives by themselves: And they are not indeed many in Number.* The foreign Commanders, we have, are thought by many to be the Work of Æmilius Probus. The Occasion of which Mistake was, that the Librarian was so called, who presented the Emperor Theodosius with these Lives, written in Part by himself, and Part by his Father and Mother: That this is so, is evident from the Verses, which in the Manuscript Copies are usually prefixed to these Lives. But the Purity of the Diction, which is truly Roman, sufficiently proves, that neither their Æmilius, nor any one else in the Days of Theodosius, was the Author of these Books. Some perhaps may think, that as Trogus was abridged by Justin, so was Nepos too by this Æmilius, who lived in the Times of Theodosius: But the Neatness of the Work, and what he says in entering upon the Life of Epaminondas, and that of Pelopidas especially, where he promises to be concise, will not allow us to think so. But however, this Opinion, though erroneous, is of no dangerous Consequence, so long as it is beyond all Dispute, that Æmilius took every Thing from Nepos. And indeed, that the Writer was contemporary with Tully, and no other than Nepos, appears sufficiently, as well from the Testimony of some old Authors, as the Dedication of the Work to Pomponius Atticus, at whose Request

*lentes imperatores: sed etiam commentationibus claros. Quod argumentum signat. Hieronymus, præfatione de scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, ubi Nepotem inter eos refert, quorum exemplo acturus sit de iis, qui scribendo claruerunt. Egit autem Nepos, tum de Græcis auctoribus; tum de Latinis. De Græcis, colligo inde, quòd in Dionis vitâ dicat, librum se fecisse de illustribus historicis: in quo inter alia tractârit de Philisto historico. De Latinis, argumento sunt plurima. Nam de Terentio egisse, ex Suetonio scimus in Terentii vitâ, Donato perperam tributâ. Adhæc primum de vitâ Ciceronis librum Gellius citat lib.* xv. *cap.* xxviii. *Eoque ex opere fragmentum Hieronymus adfert epist. ad Pammachium. Imo verisimile est, inde esse, tum vitam T. Pomponii Attici, quæ exstat, tum vitam Catonis, quam istis claudit verbis:* Hujus de vitâ, & moribus, plura in eo libro persecuti sumus, quem separatim de eo fecimus, rogatu Titi Pomponii Attici, Quare studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen relegamus: *Apertè indicat, eò nunc de Catone brevius se agere, quia separatim de eodem scripserit. Ergo vita illa Catonis, quam paucis perstrictam habemus, majoris*

quest the same Person wrote the Life of Cato, notwithstanding Hieronymus Magius denies it in the 4th Book of his Miscellanies, who is sufficiently confuted by the very Preface of Nepos. We have likewise another Proof of it: For several Passages in the Book most plainly evince, that it was written at the Time when the Power of Pompey and Cesar was grown to a Height dangerous to the public Liberty. Lambinus has collected the Passages to that Purpose, and therefore I need not produce them here. Nor in his Lives of Illustrious Men did he confine himself to such alone as excelled in the Military Way; but likewise took in those that had rendered themselves famous by their Writings, as appears from Jerom's Preface to his Account of the Ecclesiastical Writers, where he reckons Nepos among the Precedents he should follow in his Account of such as had been famous for Writing. Nepos treated as well of the Greek as the Latin Authors. As to the Greek, I go upon what he says in the Life of Dion, where he tells us he had written a Book of the most considerable Historians, in which, amongst others, he had given an Account of Philistus the Historian. As to the Latin Authors, it is many Ways evident: For we learn from Suetonius's Life of Terence, falsely ascribed to Donatus, that he had given an Account of that Author. Gellius too quotes the first Book of the Life of Cicero, in the 28th

ch.

*ris pars est voluminis, in quo Romanorum complurium vitæ continerentur. Et sanè in antiquissimo codice Oberti Gisanii ante vitam Attici legebantur hæc verba:* Ex libro Cornelii Nepotis de Latinis historicis. *Reliquit etiam Exemplorum libros, quos citant Gellius, lib.* vii. *cap.* 18. *& Charisius, lib.* i. *Alia quoque ejusdem laudant veteres, sed non item quæ ad historiam pertineant. Nam ex epistolâ ejus ad Ciceronem quædam Lactantius adfert, lib.* iii. *Instit. Divin. cap.* 15. *Quemadmodum & Ciceronis ad Nepotem epistolæ meminit Tranquillus in Julio, cap.* lv. *Ammianus Marcellinus initio libri* xxv. *ac Priscianus lib.* viii. *Imò & secundum Ciceronis epistolarum librum ad Nepotem Macrobius citat lib.* ii. *Saturn. cap.* 1. *Quod si quis fragmenta omnia Nepotis desideret, longè iis colligendis priorum vicit industriam Andreas Schottus. Hermolaus Barbarus, castigationibus in Plinii, lib.* xv. *cap.* xxix. *censet libellum de viris illustribus, qui Plinio tribui solet, Cornelii Nepotis esse haud Plinii, atque id veteribus codd. adstrui posse asseverat. Etiam Jani hæc Parrhasii sententia fuit. Utrius sit, dubitari ait Vinctus, nec eâ*

ch. of his 15th B. And Jerom, in his Epistle to Pammachius, produces a Quotation from that Work. Nay, it is likely that the Life we have of T. Pomponius Atticus was taken from thence, as well as that of Cato, which he closes with these Words: *We have given a larger Account of his Life and Behaviour in that Book we published of him alone, which those, that are desirous to be more fully acquainted with Cato, may consult, if they please.* He plainly declares the Reason, why the Account he there gives of Cato is so brief, to be his having published his Life by itself before. *Wherefore the short Life of Cato we have is the Part of a bigger Volume, wherein were contained the Lives of several other Romans.* And indeed the following Words were read in a most ancient Book of Obertus Gisanius before the Life of Atticus: *From Cornelius Nepos's Book of the Latin Historians.* He left behind him likewise Books of Examples, which Gellius quotes, B. 7. ch. 18. and Charisius, B. 1. The Ancients commend other Works of his too that were not historical. For Lactantius produces something out of an Epistle of his to Cicero, in the 15th Chap. of the 3d Book of his Divine Institutions; as Tranquillus, in the 55th Chapter of Julius Cesar's Life, makes mention of an Epistle of Cicero's to Nepos; as do likewise Ammianus Marcellinus in the Beginning of the 25th Book, and Priscian, B. viii. Macrobius too, B. 2. ch. 1. of his Saturnalia,

quotes

*eâ de re ſtatuere quicquam auſus eſt. Imò aliqui, aut Suetonium, aut Tacitum eſſe auctorem putârunt: ut indicat Gyraldus dialogiſmo* xxvi. *Sed omnino ſunt Sexti Aurelii Victoris; ut ſatis nunc conſtat ex editione Andreæ Schotti. Non dubito interim, quin pleraque ex Nepote Victor deſumſerit. Nam quod Ludovicus Vives, lib.* v. de Tradendis Diſciplinis, *Nepotem ait de Græcis ſolum ducibus ſcripſiſſe; id ſatis refellitur verbis Nepotis antea adductis. Vir doctiſſimus, Jo. Maria Catanæus, commentario in Plinii librum* iv. *epiſt.* xxviii. *quæ ad Severum ſcripta eſt, etiam Daretem Phrygium à Nepote tranſlatum arbitratur. Nempe decepit eum vulgaris ἐπιγραφή. Attamen & hic aqua hæret Vineto, notis in Auſon. Idyll.* vii. *Negat eſſe, qui certi aliquid de tranſlatione hac auſit affirmare. Atqui omnes, quibus ullum in hiſce literis judicium eſt, ſatis vident, nec Daretem illum eſſe genuinum, nec dictionem ejus Auguſtæam ſapere ætatem; ſed recentiorem multò. Nepotem autem Cæſ. Auguſti obiiſſe ævo, Plinius teſtatur, lib.* ix. *cap.* xxxix. *Atque hoc fortaſſe impulit Genebrardum, ut putaret eum nato jam Chriſto ſuperſtitem fuiſſe: qui & Jacobum Gualterium cùm primùm* quotes the 2d Book of Cicero's Epiſtles to Nepos. But if any one has a Fancy to ſee all the Fragments of Nepos, Andreas Schottus has in his Collection of them far exceeded the Induſtry of all that went before him. Hermolaus Barbarus, in his Emendations upon Pliny, B. 15. ch. 29, thinks that the Book of illuſtrious Men, which is uſually aſcribed to Pliny, is Cornelius Nepos's, and not Pliny's; and pretends to ſay, that the Thing may be proved from old Manuſcripts; which likewiſe was the Opinion of Janus Parrhaſius. Vinetus ſays, it is doubted which of them was the Author, and durſt not take upon him to determine the Point. Nay, ſome have been of Opinion, that Suetonius or Tacitus was the Author, as Gyraldus informs us in his 26th Dialogue; but it is certainly Sextus Aurelius Victor's, as is now ſufficiently manifeſt, from the Edition of Andreas Schottus. I doubt not however, but he borrowed moſt of what he had from Nepos. For what Ludovicus Vives ſays, in his 5th Book *De Tradendis Diſciplinis*, that Nepos wrote only of the Grecian Generals, is ſufficiently confuted by the Words of Nepos quoted above. A very learned Gentleman, John Maria of Catana, in his Commentary upon the 28th ch. of the 4th Book of Pliny's Epiſtles, which was written to Severus, ſays, that Dares Phrygius was tranſlated by Nepos. The vulgar Title, it ſeems, deceived him. Yet here again Vinetus is at a Loſs,

*mùm tabulas ederet Chronographicas, in eam ſententiam pertraxit. Sed Nepotem eò uſque ætatem prorogâſſe, nemo temerè dixerit, qui tanti eum in literis nominis, jam Tullii, Attici, Catulli temporibus, fuiſſe cogitârit.*

and pretends to ſays that whether that Traſlation was Nepos's, or not, cannotwithanyDegreeofCertainty be determined. But all, that have any thing of Taſte in this Kind of Literature, ſee plainly, that Dares is a ſpurious Piece, and that the Style is nothing like that of the Age of Auguſtus; but is much later. But Pliny informs us, B. 9, ch. 39. that Nepos died in Auguſtus's Reign. And it was this perhaps made Genebrard think that Nepos was living at the Birth of Chriſt, who likewiſe drew over James Gualterius, when he firſt publiſhed his Chronological Tables, to his Opinion. But ſcarcely any one ſure will pretend to ſay, that Nepos lived till that Time, who conſiders, that he was a Perſon who made a conſiderable Figure for Learning in the Days of Tully, Atticus, and Catullus.

CORNELII NEPOTIS

*Excellentium Imperatorum*

# VITÆ,

AD

T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.

*CORNELIUS NEPOS's*

# LIVES

OF THE

EXCELLENT COMMANDERS,

*To* T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS.

## *Auctoris* PRÆFATIO.

NON dubito fore pleroſque, Attice, qui hoc genus ſcripturæ leve & non ſatis dignum ſummorum virorum perſonis judicent; quum relatum legent, quis muſicam docuerit Epaminondam; aut in ejus virtutibus commemorari, ſaltâſſe eum commode, ſcienterque tibiis cantâſſe. Sed hi erunt ferè, qui expertes literarum Græcarum, nihil rectum, niſi quod ipſorum moribus conveniat, putabunt. Hi ſi didicerint, non eadem omnibus honeſta atq; turpia, ſed omnia majorum inſtitutis judicari; non admirabuntur, nos in Graiorum virtutibus

## *The Author's* PREFACE.

*I Doubt not there will be a great many, Atticus, who will judge this Way of Writing* too *light, and not ſufficiently adapted to the Characters of* theſe *great Perſons, when they find it related, who taught Epaminondas Muſick, or reckoned among his Qualities, that he danced handſomely, and played well upon the Flute. But theſe will be generally ſuch, as being unacquainted with the Greek Language, will think nothing right but what is agreeable to their own Faſhions. If theſe People underſtood* once, *that the ſame things are not honourable and ſcandalous with all People; but that all Things are judged*

bus exponendis mores eorum ſecutos. Neque enim Cimoni fuit turpe, Athenienſium ſummo viro, ſororem germanam habere in matrimonio; quippe quum cives ejus eodem uterentur inſtituto: at id quidem noſtris moribus nefas habetur. Laudi in Græcia ducitur adoleſcentulis quam plurimos habere amatores. Nulla Lacedæmoni tam eſt nobilis vidua, quæ non ad ſcenam eat mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus tota fuit Græcia, victorem Olympiæ citari. In ſcenam vero prodire, & populo eſſe ſpectaculo, nemini in eiſdem gentibus fuit turpitudini. Quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atq; ab honeſtate remota ponuntur. Contra ea, pleraque noſtris moribus ſunt decora, quæ apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? aut cujus materfamilias non primum locum tenet ædium, atque in celebritate verſatur? Quod multo ſit aliter in Græciâ; nam neque in convivium adhibetur niſi propinquorum; neq; ſedet

*of by the Uſages of* our *Foreſathers; they will not wonder that we, in relating the noble Qualifications of the Greeks, have followed their Faſhions. For it was not ſcandalous in Cimon, a very great Man amongſt the Athenians, to have his * own Siſter in Marriage, becauſe his Countrymen uſed the ſame Cuſtom: But that is accounted unlawful, according to our Uſage. It is reckoned a* mighty *Commendation in Greece for young Men to have a great many Lovers. There is no Widow ſo noble at Lacedæmon, that will not go upon the ſtage,* if *hired with a valuable Conſideration. It was reckoned amongſt the greateſt Glories to be proclaimed a Conqueror at † Olympia; but to appear upon the Stage, and to be a Spectacle to the People, was a Scandal to nobody in the ſame Nations. All which Things are reckoned with us partly infamous, partly mean, and far from honourable. On the other hand, a great many Things in our Cuſtoms are decent, which are thought ſcandalous amongſt them. For which of the Romans is aſhamed to bring his Wife to a Feaſt? Or whoſe Wife has not the firſt Room*

* That is, by the ſame Father, but not the ſame Mother, as appears from our Author himſelf in the Life of Cimon.

† Olympia is a town of Elis, in the Weſt Parts of Peloponneſus, famous for the Games celebrated there every four years, by a great Concourſe of People from all the Parts of Greece, and other Places; and the Perſons victorious therein were received, upon their Return into their own Country, with the greateſt Honours. Theſe Games were inſtituted in the Year before Chriſt 776.

ſedet niſi interiore parte ædium, que γυναικωνίτις appellatur : quò nemo accedit, niſi propinquâ cognatione conjunctus. Sed plura perſequi tum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum feſtinatio, ut ea explicem quæ exorſus ſum. Quare ad propoſitum veniemus, & in hoc exponemus libro vitas excellentium imperatorum.

*Room in the Houſe, and converſes with Company? Which is quite otherwiſe in Greece; for ſhe is neither admitted to a Feaſt, unleſs of Relations; nor ſits but in the inner Part of the Houſe, which is called the Womens Apartment, whither nobody comes, unleſs allied to her by near Relation. But both the Smallneſs of the* intended *Volume, and alſo the Haſte* I am in *to relate the Things I have undertaken, permit me not to ſay more* to this Point. *Wherefore we ſhall come to our Purpoſe, and relate in this Book the Lives of the excellent Commanders.*

I.

## *MILTIADES*, Cimonis *Filius*, *Athenienſis*.

CAP. I.

MIltiades, Cimonis filius Athenienſis, quum & antiquitate generis, & gloriâ majorum, & ſuâ modeſtiâ, unus omnium maxime floreret; eâque eſſet ætate, ut non jam ſolum de eo benè ſperare, ſed etiam confidere cives poſſent ſui, talem futurum qualem cognitum judicarunt; accidit ut Athenienſes Cherſoneſum colonos vellent mittere. Cujus generis quum magnus numerus eſſet, & multi ejus demigrationis peterent ſocietatem: ex his delecti Delphos * deliberatum miſſi ſunt, qui

I.

## *MILTIADES*, *the Son of* Cimon, *the Athenian*.

CHAP. I.

*WHEN Miltiades, the Son of Cimon the Athenian, made of all others the greateſt Figure, both for the Antiquity of his Family, and the Glory of his Anceſtors, and his own Modeſty; and was of that Age, that his Countrymen might now not only hope well of him, but even aſſure themſelves, he would be ſuch an one as they judged him upon Trial; it happened that the Athenians had a Mind to ſend a Colony to the † Cherſoneſe. Of which Kind* of People, *as there was a great Number, and many deſired a Share in this Expedition; ſome choſen*

* The Word *deliberatum* being taken here in an uncommon Senſe, thoſe that follow, *viz qui conſulerent Apollinem* ſeem to have been put in the Margin by ſomebody to explain the Meaning of *deliberatum*, and thence, through the Heedleſſneſs of ſome Copiers of Books, to have crept into the Text; for without this Suppoſition, it will be hard, I doubt, to excuſe our Author from being guilty of an inſipid Tautology.

† Cherſoneſe is a Word originally Greek, ſignifying the ſame with *Peninſula* in *Latin*; that is, a Place almoſt ſurrounded with Water. The Cherſoneſe here meant was a Part of Thrace, lying along the Helleſpont.

qui consulerent Apollinem, quo potissimùm duce uterentur. Nam tum Thraces eas regiones tenebant, cum quibus armis erat dimicandum. His consulentibus nominatim Pythia præcepit, ut Miltiadem sibi imperatorem sumerent: Id si fecissent, incepta prospera futura. Hoc oraculi responso, Miltiades, cum delectâ manu, classe Chersonesum profectus, cum accessisset Lemnum, & incolas ejus insulæ sub potestatem redigere vellet Athenienſium, idque ut Lemni suâ sponte facerent, postulâsset; illi irridentes responderunt, Tum id se facturos, quum ille, domo navibus proficiscens, vento Aquilone venisset Lemnum: hic enim ventus à septentrionibus oriens, adversum tenet Athenis proficiscentibus. Miltiades, morandi tempus non habens, cursum direxit quò tendebat,

*chosen from amongst them, were sent to consult the* * *Oracle, what Leader they should above others make use of. For the Thracians, at that Time, had Possession of those Parts, with whom they were to fight* for it *with Arms. The Pythoness did expressly order those that consulted her, to take Miltiades to them* as *their Commander: If they did that, their Undertakings would be successful. Upon this Answer of the Oracle, Miltiades, with a choice Body* of Men, *going for the Chersonese with a Fleet, after he was come up to* † *Lemnus, and desirous to reduce the Inhabitants of that Island under the Power of the Athenians, had demanded, that the Lemnians would do that of their own Accord; they bantering* him *replied, That they would then do it, when he, coming by Ship from home, should arrive at Lemnus with the Wind* called *Aquilo. For this Wind arising from the North is full against those that come*

* The Oracles, of which such frequent Mention is made in the Writings of the Ancients, were Answers given in the Temples of their Gods, to Queries about future Events, by the Priest, or sometimes by a Priestess, as here, and commonly in Verse. Though these in the Main were nothing but pure Imposture carried on by the Roguery of the Priests, in the Name of the Gods; yet there are some Answers upon Record so very surprising, as give Ground to suspect, that Evil Spirits were suffered sometimes to interpose. The Greeks scarcely ever undertook any Business of Importance, without consulting their Oracle at Delphos, which was famous even in foreign Countries. Delphos was a Town in Achaia, not far from the Corinthian Bay.

† Lemnus is an Island in the North Parts of the Ægean Sea.

bat, pervenitque Cherſoneſum.

CAP. II. Ibi brevi tempore, Barbarorum copiis disjectis, totâ regione, quam petiĕrat, potitus, loca caſtellis idonea communivit: multitudinem, quam ſecum duxerat, in agris collocavit, crebriſque excurſionibus locupletavit. Neque minùs in eâ re prudentiâ quàm felicitate, adjutus eſt: nam quum virtute militum devicisſet hoſtium exercitus, ſummâ æquitate res conſtituit; atque ipſe ibidem manere decrevit. Erat enim inter eos dignitate regiâ, quamvis carebat nomine: neq; id majus imperio quàm juſtitiâ conſecutus. Neque eo ſeciùs Athenienſibus, à quibus erat profectus, officia præſtabat. Quibus rebus fiebat, ut non minùs eorum voluntate perpetuo imperium obtineret, qui miſerant, quam illorum cum quibus erat profectus. Cherſoneſo tali modo conſtituta, Lemnum revertitur: & ex pacto, poſtulat, ut ſibi urbem tradant: Illi enim dixerant, quum vento Boreâ domo profectus, eò perveniſſet, ſeſe dedituros; ſe autem domum Cherſoneſi habere. Cares, qui tum Lemnum incolebant, etſi præter opinionem res ceciderat, tamen non dicto, ſed ſecundâ fortuna adverſariorum capti, reſiſtere auſi non ſunt,

*come from Athens. Miltiades, having no Time to ſtay, ſteered on his Courſe to the Place he was bound for, and came to the Cherſoneſe.*

CHAP. II. *There, in a ſhort Time, the Forces of the Barbarians being routed, having made himſelf Maſter of all the Country he went for, he fortified Places proper for Caſtles; ſettled the People which he had carried along with him, in the Lands, and enriched them by frequent Excurſions. Nor was he leſs aſſiſted in that Matter by good Conduct, than good Fortune: For after he had, by the Bravery of his Soldiers, routed the Enemy's Armies, he ſettled Affairs with the greateſt Equity, and reſolved to continue in the ſame Place himſelf. For he was amongſt them* inveſted *with regal Authority, though he wanted the Name. Nor did he compaſs that more by his Command* in this Expedition, *than his Juſtice. Nor did he the leſs perform all Offices* of due Subjection *to the Athenians from whom he had gone. By which means it came to paſs, that he held the Government without Intermiſſion, no leſs by the Conſent of thoſe who had ſent him, than of thoſe with whom he had gone. Having thus ſettled the Cherſoneſe, he returns to Lemnus, and demands, according to their Promiſe, that they ſhould ſurrender up the City to him: For they had ſaid, that when coming from Home with a North Wind, he arrived there, they would ſurrender; but that he now had his Home*

at

sunt, atque ex insulâ demigrârunt. Pari felicitate cæteras insulas, quæ Cyclades nominantur, sub Athenienſium redegit potestatem.

*at the Chersoneſe. The * Carians, who at that Time inhabited Lemnus, although the Buſineſs had happened contrary to their Expectation, yet being not moved by their Promiſe, but the good Fortune of their Adverſaries, durſt not reſiſt, and removed out of the Iſland. With the like good Fortune he reduced the other Iſlands, which are called Cyclades, under the Power of the Athenians.*

Cap. III. Eiſdem temporibus Perſarum rex Darius, ex Asiâ in Europam exercitu trajecto, Scythis bellum inferre decrevit: pontem fecit in Istro flumine, quà copias traduceret. Ejus pontis, dum ipſe abeſſet, cuſtodes reliquit principes quos ſecum ex Ioniâ & Æolide duxerat: quibus ſingulis ipſarum urbium perpetua dederat imperia. Sic enim putavit facillime ſe Græcâ linguâ loquentes, qui Asiam incolerent, ſub ſuâ retenturum poteſtate, ſi amicis ſuis oppida tuenda tradidiſſet: quibus, ſe oppreſſo, nulla ſpes ſalutis relinqueretur. In hoc fuit tum numero Miltiades, cui illa cuſtodia crederetur. Hic, quum crebri afferrent

Chap. III. *About the ſame Time Darius, King of the Perſians, drawing an army over out of Aſia into Europe, reſolved to make War upon the † Scythians. He made a Bridge upon the River Iſter, by which to draw his Troops over. He left the Princes, which he had brought along with him from § Ionia and Æolis, Keepers of that Bridge, whilſt he was away; to each of which he had given the perpetual Sovereignty of their* ſeveral *Cities. For thus he thought he ſhould moſt eaſily keep under his Subjection ſuch as ſpoke the Greek Tongue, that inhabited Aſia, if he delivered up* thoſe *Cities to be maintained by his Friends, to whom no Hope of Security would be left if he was conquered. Miltiades was then in this Number, to whom that Guard* of the Bridge *was*

D *entruſted.*

* The Carians were a People in the South-Weſt Parts of Aſia Minor. Their Country was called Caria.

† The Inhabitants of the North of Europe and Aſia were formerly called Scythians.

§ Ionia and Æolis were Countries of Aſia Minor, lying along the Coaſts of the Ægean Sea.

ferrent nuncii malè rem gerere Darium, premique ab Scythis; Miltiades hortatus est pontis custodes, ne à fortunâ datam occasionem liberandæ Græciæ dimitterent: Nam si cum iis copiis, quas secum transportaverat interiisset Darius, non solum Europam fore tutam, sed etiam eos, qui Asiam incolerent, Græci generis, liberos à Persarum futuros dominatione & periculo. Id & facilè effici posse: ponte enim rescisso, regem vel hostium ferro vel inopiâ paucis diebus interiturum. Ad hoc consilium quum plerique accederent, Histiæus Milesius, ne res conficeretur, obstitit, dicens, non idem ipsis, qui summas imperii tenerent, expedire & multitudini, quod Darii regno ipsorum uniteretur dominatio: Quo extincto ipsos potestate expulsos civibus suis pœnas daturos. Itaque adeò se abhorrere à cæterorum consilio, ut nihil putet ipsis utilius, quàm confirmari regnum Persarum. Hujus quum sententiam plurimi essent secuti, Miltiades non dubitans, tam multis conscriis, ad regis aures consilia sua perventura, Chersonesum reliquit, ac rursus Athenas demigravit. Cujus ratio etsi non valuit, tamen magnopere est laudanda, quum amicior omnium libertati, quam suæ fuerit dominationi.

*entrusted. Here, when frequent Messengers brought* Word, *that Darius managed his Business* but *badly, and was hard put to it by the Scythians; Miltiades advised the Keepers of the Bridge, that they would not slip an Opportunity of delivering Greece given* them *by Fortune: For, if Darius should perish with the Army which he had carried over with him, not only Europe would be safe, but likewise those who, being Greeks by Original, inhabited Asia, would be free from the Dominion of the Persians, and* all *Danger. And that that might easily be effected; for the Bridge being cut down, the King would in a few Days perish, either by the Enemy's Sword, or Want. When most of them came into this Advice, Histiæus the Milesian opposed the* Business, *that the Thing was not done, saying, that the same Thing was not expedient for them who had the Sovereignty* of their Cities, *and the People; that their Authority depended upon the Kingdom of Darius; which being destroyed, that they being deposed from their Office, would be punished by their Subjects. Wherefore he was so far from agreeing to the Counsel of the rest, that he thought nothing was more advantageous to them, than the Establishment of the Kingdom of the Persians. As most of them followed his Advice, Miltiades not doubting, so many being privy* to the Matter, *that his Counsels would come to the King's Ears, quitted the Chersonese, and again removed*

CAP.

*removed to Athens: Whose Advice, though it did not prevail, yet is mightily to be commended, since he was more a Friend to the Liberty of all, than his own Authority.*

Cap. IV. Darius autem, quum ex Europâ in Asiam rediisset, hortantibus amicis, ut Græciam in suam redigeret potestatem, classem quingentarum navium comparavit, eique Datim præfecit & Artaphernem: hisque ducenta peditum millia, & decem equitum dedit, causam interferens, se hostem esse Athenienſibus, quòd eorum auxilio Iones Sardes expugnassent, suaque præsidia interfecissent. Præfecti regii, classe ad Eubœam appulsâ, celeriter Eretriam ceperunt, omnesque ejus gentis cives abreptos, in Asiam ad regem miserunt. Inde ad Attisam accesserunt, ac suas copias in campum Marathona deduxerunt. Is abest ab oppido circiter millia passuum decem. Hoc tumultu Athenienses tam propinquo, tamque magno permoti, auxilium nusquam nisi à

Chap. IV. *But Darius, after he had returned out of Europe into Asia, his Friends advising him* to it, *that he might reduce Greece under his Authority, fitted out a Fleet of five hundred Ships, and set Datis and Artaphernes over it, and gave them two hundred thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse; alledging* this *Reason, That he was an Enemy to the Athenians, because by their Assistance, * the Ionians had taken † Sardis, and cut off his Garrison.* These *Admirals of the King, having brought up their Fleet to ‡ Eubœa, quickly took Eretria, and sent all the Natives of that Nation, being taken from thence, into Asia to the King. After that they came to § Attica, and drew out their Troops into the Plain of Marathon. That is distant about ten Miles from the Town of* Athens. *The Athenians being very much startled at this Alarm, so near them, and so prodigious, sought for Assistance no where, but*

* The Ionians were a People of Asia Minor, bordering upon the Ægean Sea, being a Colony of Greeks sent thither by the Athenians, about 1044 Years before Christ.

† Sardis was the Metropolis of Lydia, a Country bordering upon Ionia to the Eastward.

‡ Eubœa is a large Island of the Ægean Sea, separated from Achaia by a narrow Sea, called the Euripus.

§ Attica was the Country of the Athenians, in the East Parts of Achaia, lying along an Arm of the Ægean Sea, called the Saronick Bay.

à Lacedæmoniis petiverunt: Philippidemq; curſorem ejus generis, qui hemerodromi vocantur, Lacedæmonem miſerunt, ut nunciaret quam celeri opus eſſet auxilio. Domi autem creati decem Prætores, qui exercitui præeſſent: in eis Miltiades. Inter quos magna fuit contentio, utrum mœnibus ſe defenderent, an obviàm irent hoſtibus, acieq; decernerent. Unus Miltiades maximè nitebatur, ut primo quoque tempore caſtra fierent: Id ſi factum eſſet, et civibus animum acceſſurum, cum viderent de eorum virtute non deſperari; & hoſtes eâdem re fore tardiores, ſi animadverterent auderi adverſus ſe tam exiguis copiis dimicare.

*but from the Lacedemonians; and diſpatched away Philippides, a Courier of that Kind, who are called Day Couriers, * to Lacedæmon, to tell* them *what ſpeedy Aſſiſtance they had Occaſion for. But at Home ten Officers were choſen to command the Army; amongſt them* was *Miltiades. Amongſt them there was a mighty Diſpute whether they ſhould defend themſelves by* their *Walls, or march to meet the Enemy, and engage them in the Field. Miltiades alone very much inſiſted upon it, that a Camp ſhould be formed as ſoon as poſſible: If that was done, that both Courage would grow upon their Countrymen, when they ſaw their* Commanders *did not deſpair of their Bravery; and the Enemy would be* rendered *by the ſame Means more backward, when they found they durſt engage them with ſo ſmall a Force.*

CAP. V. Hoc in tempore nulla civitas Athenienſibus auxilio fuit præter Platæenſium: ea mille miſit militum. Itaque horum adventu, decem millia armatorum completa ſunt; quæ manus mirabili flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate: quo factum eſt, ut plus quàm collegæ Miltiades valuerit. Ejus enim auctoritate impulſi Athenienſes copias ex urbe eduxerunt,

CHAP. V. *At this Time no State was aſſiſting to the Athenians, beſides the † Platæenſians; that* State *ſent a thouſand Soldiers. Wherefore upon their Arrival, they were ten thouſand armed Men complete; which Army was fired with a wonderful Deſire of Fighting. By which Means it came to paſs, that Miltiades prevailed more than his Fellow Commiſſioners. For the Athenians, wrought upon by his Autho-*

* Lacedæmon was a City in the South Parts of Peloponneſus.

† Platæa was a Town in Bœotia, about twelve or fourteen Miles from Athens to the North-Weſt.

runt, locoque idoneo caſtra fecerunt: deinde poſtero die ſub montis radicibus, acie è regione inſtructa, novâ arte, vi ſummâ prælium commiſerunt. Namque arbores multis locis erant ſtratæ, hoc conſilio, ut et montium tegerentur altitudine, et arborum tractu equitatus hoſtium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. Datis, etſi non locum æquum videbat ſuis, tamen fretus numero copiarum ſuarum, confligere cupiebat: eòque magis, quòd priuſquam Lacedæmonii ſubſidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur. Itaque in aciem peditum centum, equitum decem millia produxit, prælioque commiſit. In quo tantò plùs virtute valuerunt Athenienſes, ut decemplicem numerum hoſtium profligarent: adeoque perterruerunt, ut Perſæ non caſtra, ſed naves peterent. Quâ pugnâ nihil adhuc eſt nobilius. Nulla enim unquam tam exigua manus tantas opes proſtravit.

*Authority, drew their Troops out of the City, and formed a Camp in a proper Place; and then the Day following having drawn up their Army at the Bottom of a Mountain over againſt* the Enemy, *with uncommon Art, they joined Battle with the utmoſt Mettle.* For there were Trees laid in many Places, with this Deſign, that they might be covered by the Height of the Mountains, and the Enemy's Horſe might be hindered by the lying of the Trees, that they might not be incloſed in their Numbers. Datis, although he ſaw the Place was not convenient for his Men, yet depending upon the Number of his Troops, was deſirous to engage; and the rather, becauſe he thought it convenient to fight before the Lacedemonians came to their Aſſiſtance. Wherefore he drew out into the Field a hundred thouſand Foot and ten thouſand Horſe and joined Battle. In which the Athenians prevailed ſo much more* than the Enemy, *by their Bravery, that they routed ten times the Number of Enemies, and ſo affrighted them, that the Perſians did not make for their Camp, but their Ships. Than which Fight there is nothing as yet more famous; for no Army ſo ſmall ever routed ſo vaſt a Force* before.

CAP. VI. Cujus victoriæ, non alienum videtur, quale præmium Miltiadi ſit tributum docere; quo faciliùs intelligi

CHAP. VI. *For which Victory, it does not ſeem improper to inform the* Reader, *what Reward was given Miltiades; that it may be*

* The Latin Text is here very much corrupted; and therefore if the Tranſlation appears not to be very good Senſe, the Reader will excuſe it.

telligi possit, *eandem omnium civitatum esse naturam.* Ut enim populi nostri honores quondam fuerunt rari & tenues, ob eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi, atque obsoleti: sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus. Namque huic Miltiadi, qui Athenas, totamque Græciam liberavit, talis honos tributus est, in porticu, quæ *Pœcile* vocatur, cùm pugna depingeretur Marathonia; ut in decem prætorum numero prima ejus imago poneretur, isque hortaretur milites, prælium committeret. Idem ille populus, postea quam majus imperium est nactus, & largitione magistratuum corruptus est, trecentas statuas Demetrio Phalereo decrevit.

*be the more easily understood,* that the Nature of all Cities is the same. *For as the Honours of our People were formerly rare and small, and for that Reason glorious, but now extravagant, and worn Thread bare; thus we find it to have been formerly amongst the Athenians. For such was the Honour paid to Miltiades, who delivered Athens, and all Greece, in the Piazza which is called Pœcile, when the Battle of Marathon was painted* there, *that his Picture was placed first in the Number of the ten Commanders, and he encouraged the Soldiers, and began the Battle. The same People, after they got a larger* Extent *of Dominion, and were corrupted by the Extravagance of* their own *Magistrates, decreed three hundred Statues to Demetrius Phalereus.*

CAP. VII. Post hoc prælium classem septuaginta navium Athenienses eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas, quæ Barbaros adjuverant, bello persequeretur. Quo imperio pleraque ad officium redire coëgit, nonnullas vi expugnavit. Ex his Parum insulam opibus elatam quum oratione reconciliare non posset, copias è navibus eduxit, urbem operibus clausit, omniq; commeatu privavit: Deinde vineis

CHAP. VII. *After this Battle, the Athenians gave the same Miltiades a Fleet of seventy Ships, that he might prosecute in War the Islands that had assisted the Barbarians. In which Command he obliged most of them to return to their Duty; some he took by Force. Not being able by Persuasion to prevail upon* one *of these, the Island* † *Parus* too much *elated by their Power, he drew his Troops out of his Ships, blocked up the City by Lines drawn round*

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* Demetrius was Governor of Athens about 300 Years before Christ: But, being driven from thence, went into Egypt, where, upon Account of his Learning, he was made President of the Musæum or Academy erected at Alexandria by Ptolemy Soter.

† Parus was one of the Islands called Cyclades in the Ægean Sea.

vineis ac teſtudinibus conſtitutis, propiùs muros acceſſit. Quum jam in eo eſſet, ut oppido potiretur, procul in continenti lucus, qui ex inſulæ conſpiciebatur, neſcio quo caſu, nocturno tempore incenſus eſt; cujus flamma ut ab oppidanis et oppugnatoribus eſt viſa, utriuſque venit in opinionem, ſignum à claſſiariis regiis datum. Quo factum eſt, ut et Parii à deditione deterrerentur, & Miltiades, timens ne claſſis regia adventaret, incenſis operibus, quæ ſtatuerat, cum totidem navibus atque erat profectus, Athenas magnâ cum offenſione civium ſuorum rediret. Accuſatus ergo proditionis, quòd cùm Parum expugnare poſſet, à rege corruptus, infectis rebus à pugnâ diſceſſiſſet. Eo tempore ægèr erat vulneribus, quæ in oppugnando oppido acceperat. Itaque quoniam ipſe pro ſe dicere non poſſet, verba pro eo fecit frater ejus Tiſagoras. Causâ cognitâ, capitis abſolutus, pecuniâ mulctatus eſt, eaq; lis quinquaginta talentis æſtimata eſt, quantus in claſſem ſumtus factus erat. Hanc pecuniam quòd ſolvere non poterat, in vincula publica conjectus eſt, ibiq; diem obiit ſupremum.

CAP.

*round it, and deprived it of all Proviſions; and then having erected his * Vineæ and Teſtudo's, came nearer the Walls. When he was upon the Point of taking the Town, a Grove at a Diſtance upon the Continent, which was viſible from the Iſland, by I know not what Chance, was ſet on Fire in the Night-time; the Flame of which being ſeen by the Townſmen and the Beſiegers, it came into the Fancy of both, that it was a Signal given by thoſe on Board the King's Fleet, by which it came to paſs, that both the Parians were diſſuaded from ſurrendering, and Miltiades, fearing leſt the King's Fleet was coming, ſetting Fire to the Works he had erected, returned to Athens, to the great Offence of his Countrymen, with as many Ships as he went out with. Wherefore he was impeached of Treachery, becauſe, when he might have taken Parus, being bribed by the King of* Perſia, *he had quitted the Siege without doing his Work. He was at that Time ill of the Wounds which he had received in attacking the Town: Wherefore, becauſe he could not ſpeak for himſelf, his Brother Tiſagoras ſpoke for him. Upon hearing his Cauſe, being acquitted as to Life, he was fined a* Sum *of Money, and his Fine was ſet at fifty Talents,* which was *the Charge they had been at in* fitting out *the Fleet,*

* I have not tranſlated the Latin Words *Vinea* and *Teſtudo,* becauſe our Language has none to anſwer them: They were Machines made uſe of in Sieges to cover the Beſiegers.

*Fleet. Becauſe he could not pay the Money, he was thrown into the publick Gaol, and there he ended his laſt Day.*

CAP. VIII. Hic etſi crimine Pario eſt accuſatus, tamen alia fuit cauſa damnationis. Namque Athenienſes, propter Piſiſtrati tyrannidem, quæ paucis annis antè fuerat, omnium ſuorum civium potentiam extimeſcebant. Miltiades multùm in imperiis magiſtratibuſque verſatus, non videbatur poſſe eſſe privatus: præſertim cum conſuetudine ad imperii cupiditatem trahi videretur. Nam Cherſoneſi, omnes illos quos habitârat annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, tyrannuſque fuerat appellatus, ſed juſtus. Non erat enim vi conſecutus, ſed ſuorum voluntate; eamque poteſtatem bonitate retinuerat. Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetuâ in eâ civitate, quæ libertate uſa eſt. Sed in Miltiade erat cùm ſumma humanitas, tum mira comitas, ut nemo tam humilis eſſet, cui

CHAP. VIII. *Altho' he was accuſed upon his Miſcarriage at Parus, yet there was another Reaſon of his Condemnation. For the Athenians, becauſe of the* * *Uſurpation of Piſiſtratus, which had happened a few Years before, dreaded the Power of all their own Citizens. Miltiades, having been much in Command, and Civil Offices, did not ſeem capable of being a private Perſon; eſpecially ſince he ſeemed to be dragged by Cuſtom into a Fondneſs for Power. For he had held, without Intermiſſion, the Sovereignty of the Cherſoneſe all the Years that he had lived there, and had been called Tyrannus, but was a juſt one: For he had not compaſſed his Power by Violence, but by the Conſent of his Countrymen, and had kept it by his Goodneſs. But all are both accounted and called Tyranni, who are inveſted with Power for Life, in a State which had before enjoyed the Happineſs of Liberty. But there was in Miltiades, both the greateſt Humanity, and a wonderful Complaiſance*

* I tranſlate *Tyrannis* Uſurpation; becauſe, though Piſiſtratus did, by ſeizing the Government, deſtroy the Liberty of his Country, and was, upon that Score, an execrable Villain; yet he does not appear to have been at all tyrannical in his Government. The Word *Tyrannus* was at firſt uſed in a good Senſe for a King or Prince; then for an Uſurper, howſoever he managed his Power, when he had got it, as appears from our Author; and, laſtly, for a wicked barbarous Prince, though no Uſurper.

cui non ad eum aditus pateret: magna auctoritas apud omnes civitates, nobile nomen. Laus rei militaris maxima. Hæc populus respiciens maluit eum innoxium plecti, quam se diutius esse in timore.

*plaisance, that nobody was so mean, to whom Access to him was not allowed. His Authority was great among st all the Cities of* Greece, *his Name* was *famous*, and *his Reputation for military Affairs very considerable. The People, considering these Things, chose rather to have him punished, innocent* as he was, *than to be any longer in Fear of him.*

II.

## THEMISTOCLES, Neocli *Filius Atheniensis.*

CAP. I.

HUJUS vitia ineuntis adolescentiæ magnis sunt emendata virtutibus: adeò ut anteferatur huic nemo, pauci pares putentur. Sed ab initio est ordiendum. Pater ejus Neoclus generosus fuit. Is uxorem Halicarnassiam civem duxit, ex quâ natus est Themistocles. Qui cùm minùs esset probatus parentibus, quòd & liberiùs vivebat, et rem familiarem negligebat, à patre exhæredatus est. Quæ contumelia non fregit eum, sed erexit. Nam quum judicâssĕt sine summâ industriâ non posse eam extingui, totum se dedidit reipublicæ, diligentiùs amicis famæque serviens. Multùm in judiciis privatis versabatur: sæpe in concionem

II.

## THEMISTOCLES, *the Son of* Neoclus *the Athenian.*

CHAP. I.

THE *Vices of his early Youth were made Amends for by* his *great Virtues*; *so that nobody is preferred before him*, and *few are thought his Equals. But we must begin at the Beginning. His Father Neoclus was a Gentleman; he married a Lady of* * *Halicarnassus, of whom was born Themistocles: Who being not all approved of by his Parents, because he lived too fast, and neglected his Estate, was disinherited by his Father; which rough Usage did not break* his Spirit, *but roused him. For as he judged that* Blot *could not be wiped off without the utmost Industry, he gave himself entirely* to Matters of *Government, serving diligently his Friends, and* his own *Reputation. He was much concerned in* † *private Causes, often came into the Assembly*

* Halicarnassus was a Town of Caria, a Province in the South-West Parts of Asia Minor.

† Private Causes were such wherein particular Persons only, and not of the State or Government, were concerned.

nem populi prodibat; nulla res major sine illo gerebatur: celeriterque quæ opus erant, reperiebat, facilè eadem oratione explicabat. Neque minùs in rebus gerendis promtus quàm excogitandis erat; quòd & *de instantibus* (ut ait Thucydides) *verissimè judicabat, & de futuris callidissimè conjiciebat.* Quo factum est, ut brevi tempore illustraretur.

*Assembly of the People, no great Thing was transacted without him, and he quickly discovered what was needful* to be done, *and easily laid open the same in his Address* to the People. *Nor was he less expeditious in the Management of Business, than in the contrivance*; *because (as Thucydides says)* he judged very truly of Things present, and guessed very shrewdly at Things to come. *By which* Means *it came to pass, that he was very famous in a short Time.*

Cap. II. Primus autem gradus fuit capessendæ reipublicæ, bello Corcyræo: ad quod gerendum Prætor à populo factus, non solùm præsenti bello, sed etiam reliquo tempore ferociorem reddidit civitatem. Nam cùm pecunia publica, quæ ex metallis redibat, largitione magistratuum quotannis interiret: ille persuasit populo, ut eâ pecuniâ classis centum navium ædificaretur. Quâ celeriter effectâ primum Corcyræos fregit: deinde maritimos prædones consectando, mare tutum reddidit. In quo cùm divitiis ornavit, tum peritissimos belli navalis fecit Athenienses. Id quantæ saluti fuerit universæ Græciæ, bello cognitum est Persico. Nam quum Xerxes & mari & terrà bellum universæ inferret Europæ, cum tantis eam copiis invasit, quantas neq; antè, neque postea, habuit quis-

Chap. II. His *first Step in the Undertaking of publick Business, was in the Corcyrean War*; *for the carrying on of which he was made Prætor by the People*, and *made the City more daring, not only for the War then upon their Hands, but for the Time to come. For the publick Money which came in by the Mines, being lost every Year, by the Extravagance of the Magistrates, he perswaded the People, that a Fleet of a hundred Ships should be built with that Money*; *which being quickly effected, he first reduced the Corcyreans, and then rendered the Sea secure by chasing the Pirates. In which he both enriched the Athenians with Wealth, and likewise rendered them very skilful in Sea-fights. How much that* contributed *to the Preservation of all Greece, was visible in the Persian War. For when Xerxes made War upon all Europe, both by Sea and Land, he invaded it with so great a Force, as neither any one before or since had*; *for his*

quiſquam. Hujus enim claſſis mille & ducentarum navium longarum fuit, quam duo millia onerariarum ſequebantur. Terreſtres autem exercitus ſeptingentorum millium peditum, equitum quadringentorum millium fuerunt. Cujus de adventu quum fama in Græciam eſſet perlata, et maximè Athenienſes peti dicerentur propter pugnam Marathoniam; miſerunt Delphos conſultum quidnam facerent de rebus ſuis. Deliberantibus Pythia reſpondit, ut mœnibus ligneis ſe munirent. Id reſponſum quò valeret quum intelligeret nemo, Themiſtocles perſuaſit, conſilium eſſe Apollinis, ut in naves ſe ſuaque conferrent: eum enim à Deo ſignificari murum ligneum. Tali conſilio probato, addunt ad ſuperiores totidem naves triremes; ſuaque omnia quæ moveri poterant, partim Salaminem, partim Trœzenem, aſportant: arcem ſacerdotibus pauciſque majoribus natu, ad ſacra procuranda tradunt: reliquum oppidum relinquunt.

*his Fleet was a thouſand two hundred * long Ships, which two thouſand Ships of Burden attended. His Land Armies were* to the Number *of ſeven hundred thouſand Foot, and four hundred thouſand Horſe. Concerning whoſe Coming, when the News was brought into Greece, and the Athenians were ſaid to be chiefly aimed at, becauſe of the Battle of Marathon, they ſent to Delphos, to conſult what they ſhould do in that Caſe. The Pythoneſs anſwered the Queriſts, that they ſhould ſecure themſelves by wooden Walls. When nobody could underſtand to what that Anſwer tended, Themiſtocles perſuaded them, that it was the Advice of Apollo, to get themſelves and what they had, on board their Ships, for that was the wooden Wall meant by the God. This Advice being approved, they add to their former as many more Ships, with three Banks of Oars, and carry off all their Goods that could be removed partly to † Salamis, partly to Trœzen. They deliver up the Citadel and holy Things to the Prieſts, and a few old Men to take care of,* and *leave the reſt of the Town.*

CAP. III. Hujus conſilium pleriſque civitatibus diſplicebat,

CHAP. III. *His Advice diſpleaſed moſt of the Cities, and they*

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* The Ships uſed in Sea-fights, or Men of War, were of a longer Make than the trading Veſſels, and therefore called *longæ Naves.*

† Salamis is an Iſland almoſt over againſt Athens, and Trœzen a Town of Peloponneſus upon the Saronick Bay.

cebat, & in terrâ dimicari magis placebat. Itaque miſſi ſunt delecti cum Leonidâ Lacedæmoniorum rege, qui Thermopylas occuparent, longiùſque Barbaros progredi non paterentur. Hi vim hoſtium non ſuſtinuerunt, eoque loco omnes interiêrunt. At claſſis communis Græciæ trecentarum navium, in quâ ducentæ erant Athenienſium, primùm apud Artemiſium, inter Eubœam continentemque terram, cum claſſiariis regiis conflixit. Anguſtias enim Themiſtocles quærebat, ne multitudine circumiretur. Hinc etſi pari prælio diſceſſerant, tamen eodem loco non ſunt auſi manere, quòd erat periculum, ne, ſi pars navium adverſariorum Eubœam ſuperâſſet, ancipiti premerentur periculo. Quo factum eſt, ut ab Artemiſio diſcederent, & ex adverſùm Athenas apud Salamina claſſem ſuam conſtituerent.

*they liked rather to fight by Land. Wherefore ſome choſen Men were ſent with Leonidas the King of the Lacedemonians, to ſeize* * *Thermopylæ, and hinder the Barbarians from advancing any farther: Theſe could not withſtand the Fury of the Enemy, and all died in that Place. But the common Fleet of Greece*, conſiſting *of three hundred Ships, in which were two hundred of the Athenians, firſt engaged with the King's Fleet at* † *Artemiſium, betwixt Eubœa and the Continent. For Themiſtocles ſought a narrow Sea* to engage in, *leſt he ſhould be ſurrounded by their Numbers. Although they came off from hence with equal* Advantage in the *Fight, yet they durſt not ſtay in the ſame Place, becauſe the Danger was, leſt, if a Part of the Enemy's Ships ſhould get round Eubœa, they ſhould be* ‡ *diſtreſſed by a double Danger. Upon which Account it came to paſs, that they departed from Artemiſium, and drew up their Fleet over-againſt Athens by Salamis.*

CAP. IV. At Xerxes Thermopylis expugnatis protinus acceſſit aſtu: idque nullis defendentibus, interfectis ſacerdotibus, quos in arce invenerat, incendio delevit. Cujus

CHAP. IV. *But Xerxes having taken Thermopylæ, immediately came to the City, and none defending it, ſlaying the Prieſts which he found in the Citadel, he deſtroyed it with Fire. With the Flame*

* Thermopylæ is a narrow Paſs betwixt the Ægean Sea and the Mountains, upon the Confines of Theſſaly and Achaia.

† Artemiſium is a Promontory in the North Parts of the Iſland of Eubœa.

‡ *Ancipiti periculo premi* ſignifies, in plain Engliſh, to be attacked in Front and Rear all at once.

Cujus flammâ perterriti classiarii, quum manere non auderent, & plurimi hortarentur, ut domos suas quisque discederent, mœnibusque se defenderent; Themistocles unus restitit, & universos esse pares aiebat: dispersos testabatur perituros. Idque Eurybiadi regi Lacedæmoniorum, qui tum summæ imperii præerat, fore affirmabat. Quem quum minùs quam vellet moveret, noctu de servis suis quem habuit fidelissimum, ad regem misit, ut ei nunciaret suis verbis, adversarios ejus in fugâ esse. Qui si discessissent, majore cum labore & longinquiore tempore bellum confecturum, cùm singulos consectari cogeretur; quos si statim aggrederetur, brevi universos oppressurum. Hoc eò valebat ut ingratiis ad depugnandum omnes cogerentur. Hâc re auditâ Barbarus nihil doli subesse credens, postridie alienissimo sibi loco, contrà opportunissimo hostibus, adeò angusto mari conflixit, ut ejus multitudo navium explicari non potuerit. Victus est ergo magis consilio Themistoclis, quam armis Græciæ.

*Flame of which those on board the Fleet being affrighted, not daring to stay, and many advising, that they should depart every one to their own Homes, and defend themselves by their Walls, Themistocles alone opposed it, and said, that all together they would be a Match* for them; *but declared that* if they separated, *they would be ruined, and that, he affirmed, would be, to Eurybiades King of the Lacedemonians, who at that Time was in the chief Command. Whom since he wrought upon less than he could wish, he sent by Night the most trusty of the Slaves that he had to the King, to tell him in his Words, that his Enemies were about flying: That if they should depart, he would dispatch the War with greater Trouble and longer Time, since he would be obliged to pursue them singly, whom, if he attacked immediately, he might conquer all in a short* Time. *This tended to that* Purpose, *that they might be forced to fight altogether against their Wills. The Barbarian hearing this Thing, supposing there was nothing of Fraud in* the Case, *engaged the Day following in a Place the most improper for himself, and on the other Hand, very convenient for his Enemies, in so narrow a Sea, that the great Number of his Ships could not be drawn out* to a due Length. *Wherefore he was conquered more by the Contrivance of Themistocles, than the Arms of Greece.*

CAP. CHAP.

CAP. V. Hîc Barbarus, etſi malè rem geſſerat, tamen tantas habebat reliquias copiarum, ut etiam cum his opprimere poſſet hoſtes. Interim tamen ab eodem gradu depulſus eſt. Nam Themiſtocles verens, ne bellare perſeveraret, certiorem eum fecit, id agi, ut pons, quem ille in Helleſponto fecerat, diſſolveretur; ac reditus in Aſiam excluderetur: Idque ei perſuaſit. Itaque quâ ſex menſibus iter fecerat, eâdem minùs diebus triginta in Aſiam reverſus eſt: ſeque à Themiſtocle non ſuperatum, ſed conſervatum, judicavit. Sic unius viri prudentiâ Græcia liberata eſt, Europæque ſuccubuit Aſia. Hæc altera victoria, quæ cum Marathonio poſſit comparari tropæo. Nam pari modo apud Salamina parvo numero navium, maxima poſt hominum memoriam claſſis eſt devicta.

CHAP. V. *Here, although the Barbarian had managed his Buſineſs* but *badly, yet he had ſuch conſiderable Remains of Forces, that even with theſe he might have conquered his Enemies. Notwithſtanding in the mean Time he was driven from his* * *Stand by the ſame Perſon. For Themiſtocles fearing leſt he ſhould continue the War, made him acquainted, that it was intended, that the Bridge which he had made over the Helleſpont, ſhould be broken down, and he prevented from returning into Aſia. And that, he perſuaded him,* was certainly *ſo. Wherefore he returned into Aſia, in leſs than thirty Days, the ſame* Way *by which he had made his March* thither in no leſs than *ſix Months; and judged himſelf not conquered, but ſaved by Themiſtocles. Thus by the Prudence of one Man, Greece was delivered, and Aſia fell under Europe. This is another Victory that may be compared with the Victory of Marathon; for the greateſt Fleet, ſince* we have had any *Hiſtory of Mankind, was conquered in the like Manner at Salamis, with a ſmall Number of Ships.*

CAP. VI. Magnus hoc bello Themiſtocles fuit, neque minor in pace. Quum enim Phalereo portu, neque magno neque bono, Athenienſes uterentur,

CHAP. VI. *Themiſtocles was great in this War, and no leſs in Peace. For whereas the Athenians made uſe of the Phalerean Harbour, neither great nor good, by*

* This is a Metaphor taken from Gladiators or Fencers, who, when obliged to quit their Stand or Ground, were ſaid *gradu dejici* or *gradu depelli*.

rentur, hujus consilio triplex Pyræei portus constitutus est: isque mœnibus circundatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate æquipararet, utilitate superaret. Idemque muros Athenienſium restituit præcipuo suo periculo. Namque Lacedæmonii causam idoneam nacti, propter excursiones Barbarorum, quâ negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem haberi, ne essent loca munita quæ hostes possiderent; Athenienses ædificantes prohibere sunt conati. Hoc longè aliò spectabat, atque videri volebant. Athenienses enim duabus victoriis, Marathonia & Salaminia, tantam gloriam apud omnes gentes erant consecuti, ut intelligerent Lacedæmonii de principatu sibi cum his certamen fore: quare eos quàm infirmissimos esse volebant. Postquam autem audiêrunt muros instrui, legatos Athenas miserunt, qui id fieri vetarent. His præsentibus desiêrunt, ac de eâ re legatos ad eos missuros dixerunt. Hanc legationem suscepit Themistocles, & solus primò profectus est: reliqui legati ut tum exirent, quum satis altitudo muri exstructa videretur, præcipit; atque ut interim omnes servi atque liberi opus face-

*by his Advice a triple Harbour was formed at * Pyræus, and that was ſurrounded with a Wall; ſo that it equalled the City in Beauty, and exceeded it in Uſefulneſs: And the ſame* Man *rebuilt the Walls of the Athenians, at his own particular Hazard. For the Lacedemonians having got a fine Pretence, by reaſon of the Inroads of the Barbarians, whereupon to deny that any City ought to be kept without Peloponneſus, that there might be no fortified Places which the Enemy might poſſeſs themſelves of, endeavoured to hinder the Athenians* from *building. This tended to quite another* Purpoſe, *than they were willing ſhould appear. For the Athenians, by the two Victories of Marathon and Salamis, had got ſo much Glory amongſt all Nations, that the Lacedemonians were ſenſible they ſhould have a Diſpute with them for the Maſtery. Wherefore they had a Mind they ſhould be as weak as poſſible. But after they heard the Walls were building, they ſent Ambaſſadors to Athens, to forbid that to be done. Whilſt they were preſent, they gave over, and ſaid, they would ſend Ambaſſadors to them about that Affair. Themiſtocles undertook this Embaſſy, and went alone at firſt: He ordered that the reſt of the Ambaſſadors ſhould then ſet forward, when the Height of the Wall*

* Pyræus was a Town at the Mouth of the River, upon which Athens ſtood, and about five Miles from that City.

facerent; neque ulli loco parcerent, sive sacer esset, sive profanus, sive privatus, sive publicus: sed undique, quòd idoneum ad muniendum putarent, congererent. Quo factum est, ut Athenienſium muri ex sacellis sepulchrisque constarent.

*Wall seemed pretty well advanced; and in the mean Time that all Slaves and Freemen ſhould work, and ſpare no Place, whether it was ſacred or profane, whether private or publick; but get together from all Hands what they thought proper to build with. From whence it came to paſs, that the Walls of the Athenians conſiſted of Chapels and Sepulchres.*

Cap. VII. Themistocles autem, ut Lacedæmonem venit, adire ad Magistratus noluit; & dedit operam, ut quàm longissimè tempus duceret, causam interponens, se collegas expectare. Quum Lacedæmonii quererentur opus nihilominus fieri, eumque eâ re conari fallere, interim reliqui legati sunt consecuti; à quibus quum audiſſet, non multum superesse munitionis, ad Ephoros Lacedæmoniorum accessit, penes quos summum imperium erat: atque apud eos contendit, falsa his esse delata; quare æquum esse illos, viros bonos nobilesque mittere, quibus fides adhiberetur, qui rem explorarent: interea se obsidem retinerent. Gestus est ei mos, trescque legati, functi summis honoribus, Athenas missi sunt. Cum his collegas suos Themistocles jussit proficisci, eisque prædixit, ut ne priùs, Lacedæmoniorum legatos dimitterent, quàm ipse esset remissus. Hos postquam Athenas

Chap. VII. *But Themiſtocles, as ſoon as he came to Lacedemon, would not wait upon the Magiſtrates, and did his Endeavour to ſpin out the Time as long as poſſibly, alledging this Reaſon, that he waited for his Colleagues. When the Lacedemonians complained that the Work went on neverthleſs, and that he endeavoured to deceive them in that Matter, in the mean Time the reſt of the Ambaſſadors came up: From whom, when he had heard that not much of the Wall remained* to be done, *he went to the Ephori of the Lacedemonians, in whom the Supreme Power was* veſted, *and avers before them, that a falſe* Account *had been given them; wherefore it was but reaſonable for them to ſend honeſt Men, and Gentlemen, to whom Credit might be given, to examine into the Matter; in the mean Time they might keep him as a Hoſtage. He was complied with, and three Ambaſſadors, that had borne the higheſt Offices, were ſent to Athens. Themiſtocles ordered his Colleagues to go along with them, and warned them, that they ſhould not diſmiſs*

thenas perveniſſe ratus eſt, ad magiſtratum ſenatumque Lacedæmoniorum adiit, & apud eos liberrimè profeſſus eſt, Athenienſes ſuo conſilio, quod communi jure gentium facere poſſent, deos publicos, ſuoſque patrios ac penates, quò facilius ab hoſte poſſent defendere, muris ſepſiſſe: neque eo, quod inutile eſſet Græciæ, feciſſe. Nam illorum urbem, ut propugnaculum, oppoſitam eſſe Barbaris, apud quam jam bis claſſis regia feciſſet naufragium. Lacedæmonios autem malè et injuſtè facere, qui id potius intuerentur, quod ipſorum dominationi, quàm quod univerſæ Græciæ, utile eſſet. Quare, ſi ſuos legatos recipere vellent, quos Athenas miſerant, ſe remitterent; aliter illos nunquam in patriam eſſent recepturi.

*the Ambaſſadors of the Lacedemonians, before he was ſent back again. After he thought they were got to Athens, he went to the Magiſtrates and Senate of the Lacedemonians, and very frankly declared before them, that the Athenians, by his Advice, had encloſed within Walls their publick Gods, their Country Gods, and Houſhold Gods, that they might the more eaſily defend them from an Enemy, which they might have done by the common Law of Nations; nor had they done therein what was uſeleſs to Greece: For their City was placed as a Bulwark againſt the Barbarians, at which the King's Fleet had already twice ſuffered Shipwreck. And that the Lacedemonians acted ill and unjuſtly, who more regarded that, which was uſeful to* promote *their own Dominion, than what* was for the Intereſt *of all Greece. Wherefore, if they had a Mind to receive their Ambaſſadors again, which they had ſent to Athens, they muſt ſend him back; otherwiſe they would never receive them into their Country* again.

CAP. VIII. Hic tamen non effugit civium ſuorum invidiam: Namque ob eundem timorem, quo damnatus erat Milti-

CHAP. VIII. *Yet he did not eſcape the Odium of his Countrymen: For being turned out of the City by the* * *Votes of the Shells, from*

* The Athenians, when they became jealous of any of their great Men, as dangerous to the publick Liberty, uſed to baniſh them for ten Years. The Way of Voting upon that Occaſion was, by writing the Perſon's Name upon a Shell, called in Greek *Oſtracon*, from whence this Sort of Baniſhment was called Oſtraciſm.

Miltiades, teſtarum ſuffragiis è civitate ejectus, Argos habitatum conceſſit. Hìc quum, propter multas ejus virtutes, magnâ cum dignitate viveret, Lacedæmonii legatos Athenas miſerunt, qui eum abſentem accuſarent, quòd ſocietatem cum rege Perſarum ad Græciam opprimendam feciſſet. Hoc crimine abſens proditionis eſt damnatus. Id ut audivit, quòd non ſatis tutum ſe Argis videbat, Corcyram demigravit. Ibi cum ejus principes civitatis animadvertiſſet timere, ne propter ſe bellum his Lacedæmonii & Athenienſes indicerent, ad Admetum Moloſſorum regem, cum quo ei hoſpitium fuerat, confugit. Huc cùm veniſſet, & in præſentiâ rex abeſſet, quò majore religione ſe receptum tueretur, filiam ejus parvulam arripuit, & cum eâ ſe in ſacrarium, quod ſummâ colebatur ceremoniâ, conjecit: inde non prius egreſſus eſt, quàm rex eum datâ dextrâ in fidem reciperet: quam præſtitit. Nam cùm ab Athenienſibus & Lacedæmoniis expoſceretur publicè, ſupplicem non prodidit; monuitque, ut conſuleret ſibi: difficile

*from the ſame Jealouſy upon which Miltiades had been condemned, he went to * Argos to dwell. As he lived here in great Honour, becauſe of his many excellent Qualities, the Lacedemonians ſent Ambaſſadors to Athens, to accuſe him in his Abſence, for having made an Agreement with the King of the Perſians to ſubdue Greece. Upon this Charge he was condemned in his Abſence for Treaſon. As ſoon as he heard that, becauſe he ſaw he* ſhould *not* be *ſafe enough at Argos, he removed to † Corcyra. There, when he obſerved the great Men of that State to be afraid, leſt the Athenians and Lacedemonians ſhould proclaim War againſt them upon his Account, he fled to Admetus King of the § Moloſſi, with whom he had a Friendſhip. After he was come hither, and the King at that Time was abſent, that he might ſecure himſelf upon his Reception with a ſtronger* Obligation of *Religion, he took his little Daughter, and threw himſelf with her into a Chapel, which was regarded with the utmoſt Veneration. He came not out from thence till the King, giving him his right Hand, took him under his Protection: which he made good. For when he was publickly demanded by the Athenians and Lacedemonians, he did not betray his Refugee, and*



* Argos was a City in the North Parts of Peloponneſus.
† Corcyra is an Iſland upon the Coaſt of Epire, now called Corfu.
§ The Moloſſi were a People of Epire.

ficile enim esse, in tam propinquo loco, tutò eum versari. Itaque Pydnam cum deduci jussit, & quod satis esset præsidii dedit: Hâc re audità, hic in navem omnibus ignotus ascendit: quæ cùm tempestate maximâ Naxum ferretur, ubi tum Atheniensium erat exercitus, sensit Themistocles, si eò perveniisset, sibi esse pereundum. Hâc necessitate coactus, domino navis, quis sit, aperit, multa pollicens, si se conservasset. At ille, clarissimi viri captus misericordiâ, diem noctemque procul ab insulâ in salo navem tenuit in anchoris, neque quemquam ex eâ exire passus est: inde Ephesum pervenit, ibique Themistoclem exponit: cui ille pro meritis gratiam postea retulit.

*warned him to provide for himself, for it would be difficult for him to be safe in so near a Place. Wherefore he ordered him to be conducted to Pydna, and gave him what Guard was sufficient. This Thing being heard, he went aboard a Ship, unknown to all* there; *which being driven by a very great Storm for* * *Naxus, where at that Time was an Army of the Athenians, Themistocles was sensible, if he came there, he must perish. Being forced by this Necessity, he discovered to the Master of the Vessel who he was, promising* him *many Things, if he would save him. And he, being seized with Pity of* this *most famous Man, kept the Ship Day and Night a great Distance from the Island, in the main Sea, at Anchor, nor did he suffer any body to go out of it. After that he came to* † *Ephesus, and there lands Themistocles, to whom he afterwards made a Requital according to his Desert.*

CAP. IX. Scio pleroſque ita scripsisse, Themistoclem Xerxe regnante in Asiam transisse. Sed ego potissimùm Thucydidi credo, quòd ætate proximus erat, de his, qui illorum temporum historiam reliquerunt, & ejusdem civitatis

CHAP. IX. *I know that most* Authors *have written that Themistocles went over into Asia, whilst Xerxes was reigning: But I trust Thucydides above others, because he was in Time the nearest to* him *of those who have left the History of those Times, and of the same City.*

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* Naxus is an Island of the Ægean Sea, one of those called Cyclades.

† Ephesus was a famous City in that Part of Asia Minor, called Ionia, near the Sea.

civitatis fuit. Is autem ait, ad Artaxerxem eum veniſſe, atque his verbis epiſtolam miſiſſe: *Themiſtocles veni ad te, qui plurima mala omnium Graiorum in domum tuam intuli, quum mihi neceſſe fuit adverſus patrem tuum bellare, patriamque meam defendere. Idem multò plura boni feci poſtquam in tuto ipſe ego, & ille in periculo eſſe cœpit. Nam quum in Aſiam reverti nollet, prælio apud Salamina facto, literis eum certiorem feci, id agi, ut pons quem in Helleſponto fecerat, diſſolveretur, atque ab hoſtibus circumiretur. Quo nuncio ille periculo eſt liberatus. Nunc autem ad te confugi, exagitatus à cunctâ Græciâ, tuam petens amicitiam: quam ſi ero adeptus, non minùs me bonum amicum habebis quam fortem ille inimicum expertus eſt. Ea autem rogo, ut de his rebus, de quibus tecum colloqui velo, annum mihi temporis des, eoque tranſacto me ad te venire patiaris.*

*City. But he ſays, that he came to Artaxerxes, and ſent a Letter* to him *in theſe Words:* I Themiſtocles am come to you, who of all the Greeks brought the moſt Evils upon your Family, when it was neceſſary for me to fight againſt your Father, and defend my Country. I the ſame *Man* did him much more Service, after I *was* in Safety, and he began to be in Danger. For when he intended not to return into Aſia, after the Battle was fought at Salamis, I made him acquainted by a Letter, that it was intended that the Bridge, which he had made over the Helleſpont, ſhould be broken down, and he encloſed by his Enemies. By which Advice he was delivered from Danger. But now I have fled to you, being perſecuted by all Greece, begging your Friendſhip, which if I ſhall obtain, you ſhall find me a no leſs good Friend, than he experienced me *to be* a gallant Enemy. And therefore I beg of you, that you would allow me a Year's Time for the Buſineſs, concerning which I deſire to talk with you; and after that is paſt you would ſuffer me to wait upon you.

Cap. X. Hujus rex animi magnitudinem admirans, cupienſque talem virum ſibi conciliari, veniam dedit. Ille omne id tempus literis ſermonique Perſarum dedit: quibus adeò eruditus eſt, ut multò commodiùs dicitur apud

Chap. X. *The King admiring the Greatneſs of his Mind, and deſiring to have ſuch a Man gained over effectually to him, granted* him *the Favour. He ſpent all that Time in the Books and Language of the Perſians, in which he was ſo perfectly inſtructed, that he*

apud regem verba feciſſe, quam hi- poterant, qui in Perſide erant nati. Hic quum multa regi eſſet pollicitus, gratiſſimumque illud, ſi ſuis uti conſiliis vellet, illum Græciam bello oppreſſurum; magnis muneribus ab Artaxerxe donatus in Aſiam rediit, domicilium-que Magneſiæ ſibi conſtituit. Namque hanc urbem ei rex donârat, his uſus verbis: Quæ ei panem præberet: ex quâ regione quinquaginta ei talenta quotannis redibant: Lampſacum, unde vinum fumeret: Myuntem, ex quâ obſonium haberet. Hujus ad noſtram memoriam monumenta manſerunt duo: ſepulchrum, prope oppidum, in quo eſt ſepultus: ſtatuæ in foro Magneſiæ. De cujus morte multis modis apud pleroſque ſcriptum eſt. Sed nos eundem potiſſimùm Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum ait Magneſiæ morbo mortuum: neque negat fuiſſe famam, venenum ſuâ ſponte ſumſiſſe, quum ſe quæ regi de Græciâ opprimendâ pollicitus eſſet, præſtare poſſe deſperaret. Idem oſſa ejus clàm in Atticà ab

*he is ſaid to have ſpoken before the King much more handſomely than thoſe could, who were born in Perſia. After he had promiſed the King many Things, and that* which was *the moſt agreeable* of all, *that if he would follow his Advice, he ſhould conquer Greece by War; being preſented with great Gifts by Artaxerxes, he returned into Aſia, and fixed his Habitation at* * *Magneſia. For the King had given him this City, uſing theſe Words, To furniſh him with Bread; out of which Territory fifty Talents came in to him yearly:* † *Lampſacus, from whence he might have his Wine:* ‡ *Myus, from whence he might have his* other *Proviſions. Two Monuments of him have continued to our Times; his Sepulchre nigh the Town in which he was buried, his Statues in the Forum of Magneſia. Concerning whoſe Death an Account is given after different Manners in moſt* Authors. *But we approve of the ſame Author Thucydides above others, who ſays, that he died of a Diſeaſe at Magneſia. Nor does he deny, that there was a Report that he took Poiſon voluntarily, becauſe he deſpaired of being able to perform what he had promiſed the King about con-*

* Magneſia was a Town of Aſia Minor, in that Part of it called Ionia, near the river Meander.

† Lampſacus was a Town of Myſia Minor, in Aſia Minor, near the Helleſpont.

‡ Myus was a Town of Ionia, not far from Magneſia.

ab amicis, esse sepulta, quoniam legibus non concederetur, quòd proditionis esset damnatus, memoriæ prodidit.

*conquering Greece. The same Man has left upon Record, that his Bones were privately buried in Attica by his Friends, because it was not allowed by the Laws, seeing he had been condemned for Treason.*

## III.

## *ARISTIDES*, Lysimachi *Filius*, *Athenienſis.*

### CAP. I.

ARiſtides, Lyſimachi filius, Athenienſis, æqualis ferè fuit Themiſtocli. Itaque cùm eo de principatu contendit: namque obtrectârunt inter ſe. In his autem cognitum eſt quantò anteſtaret eloquentia innocentiæ. Quanquam enim adeò excellebat Ariſtides abſtinentiâ, ut unus poſt hominum memoriam, quod quidem nos audiverimus, cognomine JUSTUS ſit appellatus, tamen à Themiſtocle collabefactus teſtulâ illâ, exilio decem annorum mulctatus eſt. Qui quidem quum intelligeret reprimi concitatam multitudinem non poſſe, cedenſque animadverteret quendam ſcribentem, ut patriâ pelleretur, quæſiſſe ab eo dicitur, Quare id faceret? aut, Quid Ariſtides commiſiſſet, cur tantâ pœnâ dignus duceretur? Cui ille reſpondit, Se ignorare Ariſtidem, ſed ſibi non placere

## III.

## *ARISTIDES, the Son of* Lyſimachus, *the Athenian.*

### CHAP. I.

*ARiſtides, the Son of Lyſimachus, the Athenian, was almoſt of the ſame Age with Themiſtocles. Wherefore he contended with him for the Superiority: For they endeavoured to leſſen one another. And it was viſible in them, how much Eloquence out-does Innocence. For though Ariſtides did excel ſo much in Juſtice, that he alone, ſince the firſt Accounts of Mankind that we indeed have heard of, was called by the Sirname The JUST: Yet being overborne by Themiſtocles by that Shell, he was puniſhed with the Baniſhment of ten Years. Who truly, when he found that the incenſed People could not be reſtrained, and, going off, obſerved one writing, that he ſhould be baniſhed his Country; is ſaid to have enquired of him, Why he did did it? or, What Ariſtides had done, for which he ſhould be thought worthy of ſo great a Puniſhment? To whom he replied, that he did not know Ariſtides, but that it did not pleaſe*

cere, quod tam cupidè elaboràſſet, ut præter cæteros JUSTUS appellaretur. Hic decem annorum legitimam pœnam non pertulit. Nam poſtquam Xerxes in Græciam deſcendit, ſexto ferè anno poſtquam erat expulſus, plebiſcito in patriam reſtitutus eſt.

*pleaſe him, that he had laboured ſo earneſtly to be called JUST above other People. He did not ſuffer the legal Puniſhment of ten Years. For after Xerxes came into Greece, about the ſixth Year after he had been baniſhed, he was reſtored to his Country by a Decree of the People.*

Cap. II. Interfuit autem pugnæ navali apud Salamina, quæ facta eſt priuſquam pœnâ liberaretur. Idem prætor fuit Athenienſium apud Platæas, in prælio quo Mardonius fuſus, barbarorumque exercitus eſt interfectus. Neque aliud eſt ullum hujus in re militari illuſtre factum, quàm hujus imperii memoria: Juſtitiæ verò, & æquitatis, & innocentiæ multa. Imprimis, quòd ejus æquitate factum eſt, cum in communi claſſe eſſet Græciæ ſimul cum Pauſaniâ, quo duce Mardonius erat fugatus, ut ſumma imperii maritimi ab Lacedæmoniis transferretur ad Athenienſes. Namque ante id tempus, & mari & terrâ duces erant Lacedæmonii. Tum autem & intemperantiâ Pauſaniæ, & juſtitiâ factum eſt Ariſtidis, ut omnes ferè civitates Græciæ ad Athenienſium ſocietatem ſe applicarent, & adverſus barbaros, hos duces deligerent ſibi, quò facilius repellerent, ſi fortè bellum renovare conarentur.

Chap. II. *He was preſent too at the Sea fight at Salamis, which was fought before he was releaſed from his Puniſhment. The ſame Man was Commander of the Athenians at Platæa, in the Battle in which Mardonius was routed, and the Army of the Barbarians cut off: Nor is there any other illuſtrious Action of his in military Affairs, beſides the Account of this Command: But there are a great many* Inſtances *of his Juſtice, Equity, and Innocence. In the firſt Place, that it was brought about by his Juſtice, when he was in the common Fleet of Greece, together with Pauſanias, by which General Mardonius had been routed, that the Chief Command at Sea was transferred from the Lacedemonians to the Athenians: For before that Time the Lacedemonians were Commanders both by Sea and Land; but then it came to paſs, through the unjuſt Behaviour of Pauſanias, and the Juſtice of Ariſtides, that almoſt all the Cities of Greece applied themſelves to the Alliance of the Athenians, and choſe them for their Leaders againſt the Barbarians, that they might the more eaſily repulſe them, if perhaps*

*they ſhould endeavour to renew the War.*

CAP. III. Ad claſſes ædificandas exercitumque comparandos, quantum pecuniæ quæque civitas daret, Ariſtides delectus eſt, qui conſtitueret. Ejus arbitrio quadringenta & ſexaginta talenta quotannis Delum ſunt collata. Id enim commune ærarium eſſe voluerunt. Quæ omnis pecunia poſtero tempore Athenas tranſlata eſt. Hic quâ fuerit abſtinentiâ, nullum eſt certius indicium, quàm quòd, cum tantis rebus præfuiſſet, in tantâ paupertate deceſſit, ut, quî efferretur, vix reliquerit. Quo factum eſt, ut filiæ ejus publicè alerentur, & de communi ærario, dotibus datis, collocarentur. Deceſſit autem ferè poſt annum quartum quàm Themiſtocles Atheniis erat expulſus.

CHAP. III. *Ariſtides was pitched upon to appoint how much Money every City ſhould furniſh for the building of Fleets, and the raiſing of Armies. By his Order four hundred and ſixty Talents were carried to* Delus every Year; for they ordained that to be the common Treaſury. All which Money, ſome Time after, was removed to Athens. Of how great Juſtice he was, there is no more certain Proof, than that though he had commanded in ſuch great Affairs, he died in ſo great Poverty, that he ſcarcely left wherewith he might be buried. Whence it came to paſs, that his Daughters were maintained at the publick* Charge, *and were diſpoſed of in Marriage, their Fortunes being paid out of the common Treaſury. He died about the fourth Year after Themiſtocles was baniſhed Athens.*

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* Delus is an Iſland of the Egean Sea, one of the Cyclades, formerly very famous for an Oracle of Apollo.

IV. *PAU-*

IV.

## PAUSANIAS, Lacedæmonius.

CAP. I.

PAusanias magnus homo, ſed varius in omni genere vitæ fuit. Nam ut virtutibus eluxit, ſic vitiis eſt obrutus. Hujus illuſtriſſimum eſt prælium apud Platæas. Namque illo duce Mardonius, ſatrapes regius, natione Medus, regis gener, in primis omnium Perſarum, & manu fortis & conſilii plenus, cum ducentis millibus peditum, quos viritim legerat, & viginti millibus equitum, haud ita magnâ manu Græciâ fugatus eſt: eoque ipſe dux cecidit prælio. Quâ victoriâ elatus plurima miſcere cœpit, & majora concupiſcere. Sed primùm in eo eſt reprehenſus, quod ex prædâ tripodem aureum Delphis poſuiſſet, epigrammate ſcripto, in

IV.

## PAUSANIAS, *the Lacedemonian.*

CHAP. I.

*AUſanias was a great Man, but inconſtant in every Way of Life. For as he was illuſtrious for his excellent Qualities, ſo was he overrun with Vices. His moſt famous Battle is* that *of Platæa. For he was Commander* there when *Mardonius, the King's* * *Lord Deputy, by Nation a Mede, the King's Son-in-Law, amongſt the Chief of all the Perſians, both brave in Action, and full of good Senſe, was driven out of Greece with two hundred thouſand Foot, which he had choſen out Man by Man, and twenty thouſand Horſe, by an Army not nearly ſo big; and the General himſelf fell in that Battle. With which Victory being elated, he began to make great Confuſion, and to aim at Things above him. But he was firſt of all blamed for this, that he had dedicated a golden*



* *Satrapes* was a Name amongſt the Perſians for the Governors of the Provinces of that Empire.

in quo erat hæc ſententia: *Suo ductu barbaros apud Plataeas eſſe deletos, ejuſque victoriæ ergo Apollini donum dediſſe.* Hos verſus Lacedæmonii exſcalpſerunt, neque aliud ſcripſerunt quàm nomina earum civitatum, quarum auxilio Perſæ erant victi.

*Trivet at Delphos, of the Spoil, with an Inſcription written upon it, in which was this Sentence;* That the Barbarians, by his Conduct, had been cut off at Plateæ, and that he had made this Preſent to Apollo, upon the Account of that Victory. *The Lacedemonians eraſed theſe Lines, nor did they write any Thing elſe, but the Names of thoſe Cities, by whoſe Aſſiſtance the Perſians had been conquered.*

CAP. II. Poſt id prælium, eundem Pauſaniam cum claſſe communi Cyprum atque Helleſpontum miſerunt, ut ex his regionibus barbarorum præſidia depelleret. Pari felicitate in eâ re uſus, elatiùs ſe gerere cœpit, majoreſque appetere res. Nam quum Byzantio expugnato cepiſſet complures Perſarum nobiles, atque in his nonnullos regis propinquos; hos clam Xerxi remiſit, ſimulans ex vinculis publicis effugiſſe: & cum his Gongylum Eretrienſem, qui literas regi redderet, in quibus hæc fuiſſe ſcripta Thucydides memoriæ prodidit: *Pauſanias dux Spartæ, quos Byzantii ceperat, poſtquam propinquos tuos cognovit,*

CHAP. II. *After that Battle, they ſent the ſame Pauſanias with the common Fleet to * Cyprus and the Helleſpont, to drive the Garriſons of the Barbarians out of thoſe Parts. And having the ſame good Fortune in that Affair, he began to behave himſelf more haughtily, and to aim at greater Matters. For when after the carrying of † Byzantium he had taken many noble Men of the Perſians, and among ſt them, ſome of the King's Relations, he privately ſent thoſe to Xerxes, pretending that they had eſcaped out of the Publick Cuſtody, and with them Gongylus the Eretrian, to carry a Letter to the King, in which, Thucydides writes, theſe Things were written:* Pauſanias, General of Sparta, after he underſtood

* Cyprus is a famous Iſland in the Eaſtern Parts of the Mediterranean.

† Byzantium, a Town upon the Thracian Boſphorus, at the Mouth of the Euxine, now called the Black Sea. It was much enlarged and beautified by the Roman Emperor Conſtantine the Great, and from him called Conſtantinople. Its Name is now Stamboul, being the Metropolis of the Turkiſh Empire.

*vit, tibi muneri miſit, ſeque tecum affinitate conjungi cupit. Quare, ſi tibi videtur, des ei filiam tuam nuptum. Id ſi feceris, & Spartam & cæteram Græciam ſub tuam poteſtatem, te adjuvante, ſe redacturum pollicetur. His de rebus ſi quid geri volueris, certum hominum ad eum mittas face, cum quo coloquatur.* Rex tot hominum ſalute, tam ſibi neceſſariorum, magnopere gaviſus, confeſtim cum epiſtolâ Artabazum ad Pauſaniam mittit, in quâ eum collaudat, ac petit, ne cui rei parcat ad ea perficienda, quæ pollicetur: ſi fecerit, nullius rei à ſe repulſam laturum. Hujus Pauſanias voluntate cognitâ, alacrior ad rem gerendam factus, in ſuſpicionem cecidit Lacedæmoniorum. In quo facto domum revocatus, accuſatus, capitis abſolvitur: mulctatur tamen pecuniâ. Quam ob cauſam ad claſſem remiſſus non eſt.

derſtood that thoſe, whom he took at Byzantium, were your Relations, has ſent them you as a Preſent, and deſires to be joined in Affinity with you. Wherefore, if it ſeem *good* to you, give him your Daughter in Marriage. If you do that, he promiſes, that with him aſſiſting you, you ſhall reduce both Sparta and the reſt of Greece under your Power. If you would have any of theſe Things done, ſee you ſend a truſty Perſon to him, with whom he may confer about the Matter. *The King rejoicing mightily at the Security of ſo many Perſons ſo nearly allied to him, diſpatches away immediately Artabazus with a Letter to Pauſanias; in which he commends him, and deſires he would not ſpare any Thing to effect the Matters which he promiſed: If he did it, he ſhould have a Refuſal of nothing from him. Pauſanias having underſtood his Mind, being rendered more forward for the Management of the Affair, fell under the Suſpicion of the Lacedemonians.* In the Middle of *which Tranſaction, being recalled home, and accuſed of this capital Crime, he is acquitted; yet is fined a* Sum *of Money: for which Reaſon he was not ſent back to the Fleet.*

Cap. III. At ille pòſt non multò, ſuâ ſponte ad exercitum rediît; & ibi non callidâ ſed dementi ratione cogitata patefecit. Non enim mores patrios ſolùm, ſed etiam cultum

Chap. III. *But he, not long after, returned to the Army of his own Accord; and there diſcovered his Intentions, not after a cunning but a mad Manner. For he not only laid aſide his Country*

tum vestitumque mutavit. Apparatu regio utebatur, veste Medicâ: satellites Medi & Ægyptii sequebantur: epulabatur more Persarum luxuriosiùs, quàm qui aderant, perpeti possent. Aditum petentibus conveniendi non dabat: superbè respondebat, & crudeliter imperabat. Spartam redire nolebat. Colonas, qui locus in agro Troade est, se contulerat: ibi consilia cum patriæ, tum sibi, inimica capiebat. Id postquam Lacedæmonii resciverunt, legatos ad eum cum scytalâ miserunt, in qua more illorum erat scriptum, nisi domum reverteretur, se capitis eum damnaturos. Hoc nuncio motus, sperans se etiam pecuniâ et potentiâ instans periculum posse depellere, domum rediit. Huc ut venit, ab ephoris in vincula publica conjectus est. Licet enim cuivis ephoro legibus

*Country Manner, but even its Furniture and Dress. He had the Equipage of a King, the Median Robe: Median and Egyptian Guards attended him: He feasted after the Manner of the Persians, more luxuriously than they that were with him could endure: He did not grant Access to those that desired to wait upon him: He answered proudly, and commanded cruelly: He would not return to Sparta: He retired to Colonæ, which Place is in the Territory of* * *Troas, where he formed Designs of pernicious Tendency, both to his Country, and himself. After the Lacedemonians understood it, they sent Messengers to him with a* † *Scytala; in which was written, after their Fashion, unless he returned home, that they would condemn him to die. Being startled at this Message, hoping that he might keep off the Danger that threatened him, by his Money and his Power, he returned Home. As soon as he came here, he was clapped*

* Troas was a Country of Asia Minor, so called from the City Troy that was in it; it lay along the Hellespont.

† This Scytala was a white Roll of Parchment wrapped about a black Stick, about nine Cubits long. It was used thus: When the Magistrates gave Commission to any, as General or Admiral, they took two round Pieces of Wood, of the same Size exactly; one of those they kept, the other was given to the Commander, to whom as oft as they had Occasion to send any private Dispatches, they cut a long narrow Scroll of Parchment, and rolling about their own Staff, one Fold close upon another, they wrote their Business upon it: Then taking it off, sent it away to the Commander, who applying it to his own Staff, the Folds exactly fell in one with another, as at the Writing; and the Characters, which before it was wrapped up, were confusedly disjoined and unintelligible, appeared very plain.

legibus eorum hoc facere [illegible]. Hinc tamen se expedivit: neque eo magis caeteris suspicione; nam opinio manebat, eum cum rege habere societatem. Est genus quoddam hominum, quod Helotes vocatur, quorum magna multitudo agros Lacedæmoniorum colit, servorumque munere fungitur. Hos quoque solicitare spe libertatis existimabatur. Sed quod harum rerum nullum erat apertum crimen, quo argui posset, non putabant de tali tantoque viro suspicionibus oportere judicari: sed expectandum dum se ipsa res aperiret.

*clapped into publick Custody by the Ephori; for by their Laws it is allowable for any Ephorus to do this to a King. Yet he got himself out hence. Nor yet was he the more free from Suspicion; for this Opinion* of him *continued; that he had an Agreement with the* * *King* of Persia. *There is a certain kind of Men which is called Helots, of which a great Number till the Lands of the Lacedemonians, and perform the Office of Slaves. He was supposed to solicit these* to join him, *with the Hopes of Liberty; but because there was no Charge* against him, *as to these Things, well made out, upon which he might be convicted, they did not think it reasonable to pass Sentence upon so great and so famous a Man, upon Suspicions; but that they ought to stay till the Matter discovered itself.*

CAP. IV. Interim Argilius quidam adolescentulus, quem puerum Pausanias amore venereo delexerat, quum epistolam ab eo ad Artabazum accepisset, eique in suspicionem venisset, aliquid in eâ de se esse scriptum, quòd nemo eorum redisset, qui super tali causâ eòdem missi erant; vincula epistolæ laxavit,

CHAP. IV. *In the mean Time one Argilius, a young Man, whom when a Boy Pausanias had loved with a venereal Passion, having received a Letter from him to Artabazus; and it coming into his Fancy, that there was something written in it about himself because none of those had come back again, who had been sent to the same Place upon such an Occasion; he loosed*

* Our Author here imitates the Greek Authors, who used to call the King of Persia simply, or by Way of Eminence, *The King*, sometimes *The Great King*.

vit, signoque detracto, cognovit, si pertulisset, sibi esse pereundum. Erant in eâdem epistolâ quæ ad ea pertinebant, quæ inter regem Pausaniamque convenerant. Has ille literas ephoris tradidit. Non est prætereunda gravitas Lacedæmoniorum hoc loco. Nam ne hujus quidem indicio impulsi sunt, ut Pausaniam comprehenderent: neque prius vim adhibendam putaverunt, quàm ipse indicasset. Itaque huic indici, quid fieri vellent, præceperunt. Fanum Neptuni est Tænari, quod violare nefas putant Græci: eò ille index confugit: in arâ consedit: hanc juxta, locum fecerunt sub terrâ, ex quo posset audiri, si quis quid loqueretur cum Argilio. Huc ex ephoris quidam descenderunt. Pausanias, ut audivit Argilium confugisse in aram, perturbatus eò venit. Quem quum supplicem dei videret in arâ sedentem, quærit cau æ quid sit tam repentini consilii. Huic ille, quid ex literis comperisset, aperit. Tanto magis Pausanias

*loosed* * *the string of the Epistle, and taking off the Seal, he understood if he carried it, he was to perish. There was in the same Epistle, what appertained to these Things which had been agreed on betwixt the King and Pausanias. He delivered his Letter to the Ephori. The* † *Steadiness of the Lacedæmonians upon this Occasion is not to be passed by. For they were not wrought upon even by his Information, to seize Pausanias; nor did they think any Force was to be used against him, before he discovered himself. Wherefore they ordered the Informer what they would have done. There is a Temple of Neptune at Tenarus, which the Greeks account it a most heinous Crime to profane. Thither the Informer fled, and sat upon the Altar. Nigh this they made a Place under Ground, from whence if any one talked any Thing with Argilius, it might be overheard. Some of the Ephori went down into it. Pausanias, as soon as he heard that Argilius was fled to the Altar, came thither in great Disorder. Whom when he saw sitting upon the Altar as a Suppliant to the God, he asks*

* The Way of writing Letters was anciently upon wooden Tablets covered with Wax; these they used to clap together, and tie with a Thread, the Knot of which had a Seal upon it.

† *Gravitas* properly signifies heavy. And as Things that are heavy are not easily moved, thence it was figuratively applied to such as are not apt to alter their Purposes, or form Resolutions, but upon weighty Considerations; and agreeably to this Sense of *Gravis* is *Gravitas* here used.

fanias perturbatus orare cœpit, *ne enunciaret, nec se, meritum de illo optimè, proderet. Quod si eam veniam sibi dedisset, tantisque implicitum rebus sublevâsset, magno esse ei præmio futurum.*

*asks what the Reason was of this sudden Resolution. He tells him what he had discovered from the Letter. Pausanias, being so much the more confounded, began to beg,* that he would not discover it, nor betray him, that had deserved very well from him; and that if he would but grant him that Favour, and would relieve him *now* entangled in such mighty Difficulties, he should have a considerable Reward *for it.*

Cap. V. His rebus Ephoti cognitis, satiùs putaverunt in urbe eum comprehendi; quò cùm essent profecti, & Pausanias, placato Argilio, (ut putabat) Lacedæmonem reverteretur, in itinere, quum jam in eo esset, ut comprehenderetur, è vultu cujusdam ephori, qui eum admonere cupiebat, insidias sibi fieri intellexit. Itaque paucis antè gradibus, quàm qui sequebantur, in ædem Minervæ, quæ Chalcioecus vocatur, confugit. Hinc ne exire posset, statim ephori valvas ejus ædis obstruxerunt, tectumque sunt demoliti, quò facilius sub dio interiret. Dicitur eo tempore matrem Pausaniæ vixisse; eamque jam magno natu, post-

Chap. V. *The Ephori, having understood these Things, thought it better to have him seized in the City. Whither as they were going, and Pausanias having pacified Argilius, as he thought, was returning to Lacedemon; in the Way, when he was now upon the Point of being seized, he understood by the Look of a certain Ephorus, who desired to acquaint him, that there was a Design upon him: Wherefore he fled into the Temple of Minerva, which is called Chalcioecus, a few Steps before those that followed him. That he might not get out hence, the Ephori blocked up the folding Doors of the Temple, and took off the Roof,* * *that he might die the more easily in the open Air. It is said, that the* † *Mother of Pausanias was living at that Time;* and

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* This Reason of our Author's seems trifling, and therefore I am apt to think is not the true one: There was, I fancy, some Point of Superstition in the Case.

† This Behaviour of a Mother to a Son will appear almost incredible to such as are unacquainted with the Temper and Spirit of

poſtquam de ſcelere filii comperit, in primis ad filium claudendum, lapidem ad introitum ædis attuliſſe. Sic Pauſanias magnam belli gloriam turpi morte maculavit. Hic cùm ſemianimis de templo elatus eſſet, confeſtim animam efflavit. Cujus mortui corpus quum eòdem nonnulli dicerent inferri oportere, quò hi qui ad ſupplicium eſſent dati; diſplicuit pluribus; & procul ab eo loco infoderunt, in quo erat mortuus. Inde poſteriùs dei Delphici reſponſo erutus, atque eodem loco ſepultus, ubi vitam poſuerat.

*and that ſhe, being now of a great Age, after ſhe had been informed of the Wickedneſs of her Son, brought, amongſt the Foremoſt, a Stone to the Entrance of the Temple, to ſhut up her Son. Thus Pauſanias ſullied the great Glory* he had gotten *in the War, by a ſhameful Death. After he had been brought half dead out of the Temple, he immediately breathed out his Soul. The Body of whom being dead, when ſome ſaid it ought to be carried into the ſame Place whither they* were carried, *who were delivered up to* capital *Puniſhment, it diſpleaſed many; and they buried him a great Way from that Place in which he died. He was afterwards taken up, upon an Anſwer of the Delphian Oracle, and buried in the Place where he had ended his Life.*

of the Lacedemonians, which was very ſingular; but if that be conſidered, there was nothing ſtrange or extraordinary in the Matter. It was cuſtomary with the Mothers, when their Sons went to the War, to deliver them their Shield with theſe Words, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς, *i. e.* Either bring this back, or be brought upon it; as much as to ſay, Loſe your Life rather than this. Nay, there are Authors who tell us, That upon News of the Defeat of a Lacedemonian Army, it was uſual for the Relations of the Slain to meet with all the Signs of Joy, congratulating one another; whilſt the Relations of ſuch as had ſaved themſelves by running away, appeared with dejected, melancholy Looks, or durſt not ſhow their Heads at all for Shame.

## V.

## *CIMON*, Miltiadis *filius*, *Athenienſis.*

### Cap. I.

CIMON, Miltiadis filius, Athenienſis, duro admodum initio uſus eſt adoleſcentiæ. Nam quum pater ejus litem æſtimatam populo ſolvere non potuiſſet, ob eamque cauſam in vinculis publicis deceſſiſſet; Cimon eâdem cuſtodiâ tenebatur, neque legibus Athenienſium emitti poterat, niſi pecuniam, quâ pater mulctatus eſſet, ſolviſſet. Habebat autem in matrimonio ſororem ſuam germanam, nomine Elpinicen, non magìs amore, quàm patrio more ductus: nam Athenienſibus licet, eodem patre natas, uxores ducere. Hujus conjugii cupidus Callias quidam, non tam generoſus quàm pecunioſus, qui magnas pecunias ex metallis fecerat, egit cum Cimone, ut eam ſibi uxorem daret: id ſi impetràſſet, ſe pro illo pecuniam ſolutu-rum. Is cum talem conditionem aſpernaretur, Elpinice negavit ſe paſſuram Miltiadis

## V.

## *CIMON, the Son of* Miltiades, *the Athenian.*

### Chap. I.

*CIMON, the Son of Miltiades, the Athenian, had* but *a hard Entrance upon his State of Manhood. For whereas his Father was not able to pay the People his Fine, and for that Reaſon died in the public Gaol; Cimon was confined in the ſame Cuſtody, nor could he be diſcharged by the Laws of the Athenians, unleſs he paid the Sum his Father had been fined. He had in Marriage his Siſter, by Name Elpinice, not more induced* to it *by Love, than the Faſhion of his Country: for it is lawful for the Athenians to marry thoſe* that are *born of the ſame Father. One Callias being deſirous of this Match, not ſo much a Gentleman as a monied* Man, *who had got a great Eſtate by the Mines, dealt with Cimon, to give him her to Wife,* promiſing, *if he obtained that of* him, *that he would pay the Money for him. When he rejected the Offer, Elpinice denied that ſhe would ſuffer the Son of Miltiades to die in the public Gaol: and ſince ſhe could hinder it, that ſhe would*

Miltiadis progeniem in vinculis publicis interire; quoniamque prohibere posset, se Calliæ nupturam, si, ea quæ polliceretur, præstitisset.

*would marry Callias, if he would perform the Things which he promised.*

CAP. II. Tali modo custodiâ liberatus Cimon, celeriter ad principatum pervenit. Habebat enim satis eloquentiæ, summam liberalitatem, magnam prudentiam cùm juris civilis, tum rei militaris, quòd cum patre à puero in exercitu fuerat versatus. Itaque hic & populum urbanum in suâ tenuit potestate, & apud exercitum plurimùm valuit auctoritate. Primùm imperator apud flumen Strymona magnas copias Thracûm fugavit, oppidum Amphipolim constituit, eòque decem millia Atheniensium in coloniam misit. Idem iterum apud Mycalem Cyprianorum & Phœnicûm ducentarum navium classem devictam cepit: eodemque die pari fortunâ in terrâ usus est. Namque hostium navibus captis, statim ex classe copias suas eduxit, barbarorum uno concursu maximam vim prostravit.

CHAP. II. *Cimon, being delivered out of Custody in this Manner, quickly came to the greatest Eminence. For he had Eloquence enough, the utmost Generosity, great Skill as well in the Civil Law as Military Affairs, because he had been with his Father in the Army, from a Child. Wherefore he both kept the People of the Town at his Command, and swayed much by his Authority with the Army. In the first Place, being Commander* of the Athenian Forces, *he routed a great Body of the Thracians at the River* * *Strymon, built the Town of* † *Amphipolis, and sent ten thousand Athenians as a Colony thither. The same Man again at* ‡ *Mycale took a Fleet of two hundred Ships of the Cyprians and* ‖ *Phœnicians*, which he *conquered*; *and the same Day had the like good Fortune by Land. For after he had taken the Enemy's Ships, he immediately drew his Forces out of the Fleet*, and *at one Push overthrew a mighty*

* Strymon was a River of Macedonia, nigh the Borders of Thrace.

† Amphipolis was built in an Island of the River Strymon, from whence it had its Name.

‡ Mycale was a Promontory of Ionia, not far from Ephesus.

‖ The Phœnicians were a People of Asia upon the Coasts of the Mediterranean, Eastward from Cyprus, famous for their Skill in Sea Affairs, and a great Traffick they carried on up and down the Mediterranean.

proſtravit. Quâ victoriâ magnâ prædâ potitus, quum domum reverteretur, quòd jam nonnullæ inſulæ propter acerbitatem imperii defecerant, bene animatas confirmavit, alienatas ad officium redire coegit. Scyrum, quam eo tempore Dolopes incolebant quòd contumaciùs ſe geſſerat, vacuefecit: poſſeſſores veteres urbe inſulâque ejecit; agros civibus diviſit. Thaſios, opulentiâ fretos, ſuo adventu fregit. His ex manubiis arx Athenarum, quâ ad meridiem vergit, eſt ornata.

*mighty Army of the Barbarians. In which Victory getting a great deal of Plunder, as he was returning home, becauſe now ſome Iſlands had revolted, by reaſon of the Rigour of the* Athenian *Government, he fixed the Well-affected, and the Revolters he obliged to return to their Duty. He ſwept Scyrus * of its People, which at that Time the † Dolopes inhabited, becauſe it had behaved itſelf obſtinately; turned the old Inhabitants out of the City and Iſland; divided the Lands amongſt his Citizens. He reduced the ‡ Thaſians, elated with their great Wealth, upon his Arrival* amongſt them. *Out of theſe Spoils the Citadel of Athens was beautified, where it looks to the South.*

CAP. III. Quibus rebus quum unus in civitate maximè floreret, incidit in eandem invidiam, quam pater ſuus, cæteriquè Athenienſium principes. Nam teſtarum ſuffragiis, quod illi ὀστρακισμὸν vocant, decem annorum exilio mulctatus eſt. Cujus facti celeriùs Athenienſes, quàm ipſum pœnituit. Nam quum ille, forti animo, invidiæ ingratorum civium ceſſiſſet, bellumque Lacedæmonii Athenienſibus indixiſſent; confeſtim notæ ejus virtutis deſiderium

CHAP. III. *By which Means, as he made the greateſt Figure in the City, he fell under the ſame Odium, which his Father, and the reſt of the great Men of the Athenians,* had done. *For he was puniſhed with the Baniſhment of ten Years, by the Votes of the Shells, which they call Oſtraciſm. Which Action the Athenians were ſooner ſorry for, than himſelf. For after he had given Way to the Hatred of his ungrateful Countrymen with a gallant Mind, and the Lacedemonians had proclaimed War againſt the Athenians, immediately*

* Scyrus is an Iſland of the Ægean Sea, a little above Eubœa.
† The Dolopes were a People of Theſſaly.
‡ Thaſus is an Iſland of the Ægean Sea, nigh the Coaſt of Thrace.

derium conſecutum eſt. Itaque poſt annum quintum, quo expulſus erat, in patriam revocatus eſt. Ille, quòd hoſpitio Lacedæmoniorum utebatur, ſatiùs exiſtimans, eos & cives ſuos inter ſe unâ voluntate conſentire, quàm armis contendere, Lacedæmonem ſuâ ſponte eſt profectus, pacemque inter duas potentiſſimas civitates conciliavit. Pòſt neque ita multò in Cyprum cum ducentis navibus, imperator miſſus, quum ejus majorem partem inſulæ devicifſet, in morbum implicitus, in oppido Citio eſt mortuus.

*mediately a great Miſs of his known Bravery and Conduct followed. Wherefore he was recalled into his Country, five Years after his Baniſhment. He, becauſe he had a great * Friendſhip for the Lacedemonians, thinking it better that they and his Countrymen ſhould agree betwixt themſelves in the ſame Mind, than contend together with Arms, went to Lacedæmon of his own Accord, and made a Peace betwixt thoſe two moſt powerful States. And not long after, being ſent Admiral into Cyprus with two hundred Ships, after he had conquered the greateſt Part of that Iſland, falling into a Diſtemper, he died in the Town of Citium.*

CAP. IV. Hunc Athenienſes non ſolùm in bello, ſed in pace diu deſideraverant. Fuit enim tantâ liberalitate, quum compluribus locis prædia hortoſque haberet, ut nunquam eis cuſtodem poſuerit, fructus ſervandi gratiâ, ne quis impediretur, quò minùs ejus rebus, quibus vellet, frueretur. Semper eum pediſſequi cum nummis ſunt ſecuti, ut ſi quis opis ejus indigeret,

CHAP. IV. *The Athenians had a Miſs of him a long Time, not only in War, but in Peace. For he was a* Man *of ſo great Generoſity, that having Eſtates and Gardens in ſeveral Places, he never placed a Keeper, upon Account of preſerving the Fruit, leſt any ſhould be hindered from enjoying his Things as he pleaſed. Footmen always followed him with Money, that if any one ſtood in need of his Aſſiſtance, he might have*

* *Hoſpitium* properly ſignifies Lodging or Entertainment, but is likewiſe uſed for Friendſhip. For in the more early Ages of the World, before the Convenience of publick Inns was thought of, Perſons that travelled lodged in private Houſes, and were obliged to return the Favour to thoſe that entertained them, if Need required. This was the Occaſion of the moſt intimate Friendſhip betwixt the Parties, inſomuch that they treated one another as Relations. Thence the Word *Hoſpitium* came to ſignify Friendſhip founded upon that Bottom.

digeret, haberet, quod ſtatim daret, ne differendo videretur negare. Sæpe, quum aliquem offenſum fortunâ videret minùs bene veſtitum, ſuum amiculum dedit. Quotidie ſic cœna ei coquebatur, ut quos invocatos viditſet in foro omnes devocaret: quod facere nullum diem prætermittebat. Nulli fides ejus, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit: multos locupletavit. Complures pauperes mortuos, qui unde efferrentur non reliquiſſent, ſuo ſumptu extulit. Sic ſe gerendo minimè eſt mirandum, ſi & vita ejus fuit ſecura, & mors aceiba.

*have to give him immediately, leſt he ſhould ſeem to deny him, by putting him off. Oftentimes when he ſaw any one * ill-handled by Fortune, luſs handſomely clad, he gave him his own Coat. His Supper was ſo dreſſed for him every Day, that he invited all whom he ſaw in the Forum, not invited* elſewhere, *which he omitted to do no Day. His Faithfulneſs was wanting to none,* his *Service to none,* his *Eſtate to none: He enriched many. He buried at his own Charge many poor People* when *dead, who had not left wherewith they might be buried. It is not to be wondered at, if upon behaving himſelf thus, both his Life was ſecure, and his Death afflicting.*

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* I am afraid the Latin Text is corrupted here, *Offenſus Fortunâ* being, in my Opinion, no very intelligible Expreſſion.

VI. *LYSANDER,*

## VI.

## LYSANDER, Lacedæmonius.

### CAP. I.

LYSANDER Lacedæmonius magnam reliquit sui famam, magis felicitate, quàm virtute, partam. Athenienses enim in Peloponnesios texto & vigesimo anno bellum gerentes confeciſſe apparet. Id quâ ratione confecutus sit, latet. Non enim virtute sui exercitûs, sed immodestiâ factum est adversariorum, qui quòd dicto audientes imperatoribus suis non erant, dispalati in agris, relictis navibus in hostium venerunt potestatem. Quo facto Atheniensis se Lacedæmoniis dediderunt. Hâc victoriâ Lysander elatus, quum antea semper factiosus, audaxque fuisset, sic sibi insultsit, ut ejus operâ in maximum odium Græciæ Lacedæmonii pervenerint. Nam quum hanc causam Lacedæmonii dictitassent sibi esse belli, ut Atheniensium

## VI.

## LYSANDER, *the Lacedemonian.*

### CHAP. I.

*LYSANDER the Lacedemonian left a great Name, got more by his good Fortune, than his good Behaviour. For it is apparent, that he conquered the Athenians, carrying on a War againſt the Peloponneſians, in the ſix and twentieth Year thereof. But how he effected that is but little known: For it was not brought about by the Valour of his Army, but by the ill Diſcipline of his Enemies; who, becauſe they were not obedient to their Commanders, being diſperſed in the Country, having left their Ships, came under the Power of their Enemies; upon which the Athenians ſubmitted themſelves to the Lacedemonians. Lyſander being elevated with this Victory, having been before always a factious and a bold Man, gave himſelf ſo much Liberty, that by his Means the Lacedemonians came under a very great Odium of Greece. For whereas the Lacedemonians had ſaid, that their Reaſon for*

fium impotentem dominationem refringerent: poſtquam apud Ægos flumen Lyſander claſſis hoſtium eſt potitus, nihil aliud molitus eſt, quàm ut omnes civitates in ſuâ teneret poteſtate, quum id ſe Lacedæmoniorum cauſâ facere ſimularet. Namque undique, qui Athenienſium rebus ſtuduiſſent, ejectis, decem delegerat in unaquâque civitate, quibus ſummum imperium poteſtatemque omnium rerum committeret. Horum in numerum nemo admittebatur, niſi qui aut ejus hoſpitio contineretur, aut ſe illius fore propium fide confirmârat.

*for the War was this, that they might curb the * outrageous Tyranny of the Athenians; after he made himſelf Maſter of the Enemy's Fleet at the River † Ægos, he laboured nothing elſe ſo much, as that he might have all the Cities at his Devotion, whilſt he pretended he did that upon the Account of the Lacedemonians. For thoſe being every where turned out, who favoured the Intereſt of the Athenians, he choſe ten in every City, to whom he entruſted the ſupreme Authority and Management of all Affairs. Nobody was admitted into their Number, but who either was engaged to* him *by Friendſhip, or aſſured* him *by Promiſe, that he would be entirely his.*

Cap. II. Ita decemvirali poteſtate in omnibus urbibus conſtitutâ, ipſius nutu omnia gerebantur. Cujus de crudelitate ac perfidia ſatis eſt unam rem exempli gratiâ proferre, ne de eodem plura enumerando fatigemus lectores. Victor ex Aſiâ quum reverteretur, Thaſumque divertiſſet, quòd ea civitas præcipuâ fide fuerat erga Athenienſes, proinde ac ſi iidem firmiſſimi

Chap. II. *The Decemviral Authority being thus eſtabliſhed in all Cities, all Things were managed by his Direction. Concerning whoſe Cruelty and Perfidiouſneſs it is ſufficient to produce one Inſtance, for Example's Sake, leſt we ſhould tire our Readers, by reckoning up many concerning the ſame Man. When he returned victorious out of Aſia, and had taken a Turn to Thaſus, becauſe that had been a State of extraordinary Fidelity to*

I *the*

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* *Impotens* ſignifies *weak* or *wanting Power* properly, yet is oftentimes applied to Perſons in the greateſt Power, as Kings and Princes; but then they are conſidered as under the Influence and Command of their Paſſions, and wanting Power to govern themſelves, and keep within Bounds; thence it ſignifies *Extravagant, Proud, Intolerable,* as here.

† A River of Thrace falling into the Helleſpont.

firmissimi solerent esse amici, qui constantes fuissent inimici, eam pervertere concupivit. Vidit autem, nisi in eo occultâsset voluntatem, futurum, ut Thasii dilaberentur, consulerentque rebus suis. ****

*the Athenians, as if those used to be the fastest Friends, who had been resolute Enemies, he was desirous to reduce it; but he saw, that unless he concealed his Design, it would come to pass, that the Thasians would slip away, and provide for their own Security.* ****

CAP. III. Itaque decemviralem suam potestatem, sui ab illo constitutam sustulerunt. Quo dolore incensus iniit consilia reges Lacedæmoniorum tollere, sed sentiebat id se sine ope deorum facere non posse, quòd Lacedæmonii omnia ad oracula referre consueverant. Primùm itaque Delphos corrumpere est conatus. Quum id non potuisset, Dodonam adortus est. Hinc quoque repulsus, dixit se vota suscepisse, quæ Jovi Hammoni solveret, existimans se Afros faci-

CHAP. III. *Wherefore his* Countrymen *abolished his Decemviral Authority set up by him; with which Provocation being fired, he entered into a Design to take away the* * *Kings of the Lacedemonians; but was sensible he could not do that without the Help of the Gods, because the Lacedemonians had been accustomed to propose all Things to the Oracles. Wherefore first he attempted to* † *corrupt Delphos: When he could not* effect *that, he tried* ‡ *Dodona: being rejected here too, he said he had made a Vow, which he must pay to* ‖ *Jupiter Ham-*

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* The Lacedemonians had two Kings at once, both of the Posterity of Hercules. They used to command their Armies, and were indeed more properly Generals only, than Kings; for their Power in the Government was but small, being subjected to the Censure of, and liable to be deposed by, the Magistrates called *Ephori*.

† It may seem a little wonderful, that these Oracle-mongers should all prove so backward to comply with Lysander, since they might, it is likely, have been well paid for it, and their only Business and Trade was to tell Lies, and take Money. They must have looked upon his Design as rash, desperate, and impracticable; as what would bring them under a strong Suspicion of Corruption, lessen their Authority, and spoil their Trade; otherwise, no doubt, they would have been glad enough to finger his Money.

‡ Dodona was a City in Epire, famous for an Oracle of Jupiter.

‖ The Oracle of Jupiter Hammon was in the Deserts of Lybia, on the West of Egypt.

faciliùs corrupturum. Hâc spe quum profectus esset in Africam, multùm eum antistites Jovis fefellerunt: nam non solùm corrumpi non potuerunt, sed etiam legatos Lacedæmona miserunt, qui Lysandrum accusarent, quòd sacerdotes fani corrumpere conatus esset. Accusatus hoc crimine, judicumque absolutus sententiis, Orchomeniis missus subsidio. occisus est à Thebanis apud Haliartum. Quàm verè de eo foret judicatum, oratio indicio fuit, quæ post mortem in domo ejus reperta est; in quâ suadet Lacedæmoniis, ut regiâ potestate dissolutâ, ex omnibus dux deligatur ad bellum gerendum: sed ita scripta, ut deorum videretur congruere sententiæ, quam ille se habiturum, pecuniâ fidens, non dubitabat. Hanc ei scripsisse Cleon Halicarnassæus dicitur.

*Hammon, thinking he should more easily bribe the Africans. When he was come into Africa with these Hopes, the Priests of Jupiter deceived him much; for they not only could not be bribed, but likewise sent Deputies to Lacedemon, to accuse Lysander of having endeavoured to bribe the Priests of the Temple. Being impeached for this Crime, and acquitted by the Votes of his Judges,* he *was sent to the Relief of the* * *Orchomenians*, and *slain by the Thebans at* † *Haliartus. How truly they have judged of him, a Speech* of his *was a Proof, which was found in his House after his Death; in which he advises the Lacedemonians, that dissolving the Regal Authority, a General should be chosen from among them all, to carry on the War; but so written, that it seemed to agree with the Advice of the Gods, which he, trusting to his Money, did not doubt he should have. Cleon of Halicarnassus is said to have written this for him.*

Cap. IV. Atque hoc loco non est prætereundum factum Pharnabazi, satrapis regii. Nam quum Lysander, præfectus classis, in bello multa crudeliter avarèque fecisset, deque his rebus suspicaretur ad cives suos esse perlatum: petiit à Pharnabazo, ut ad Ephoros

Chap. IV. *And in this Place an Action of the* King of Persia's *Viceroy, Pharnabazus, is not to be passed by. For when Lysander, being Admiral of the Fleet, had done many Things in the War cruelly and covetously, and suspected that Advice had been carried to his Countrymen of those Things; he*



* The Orchomenians were a People of Bœotia.
† Haliartus, a City of Bœotia.

Ephoros ſibi teſtimonium daret, quantâ ſanctitate bellum geſſiſſet, ſociosque tractâſſet, deque eâ re accuratè ſcriberet; magnam enim ejus auctoritatem in eâ re futuram. Hunc ille liberaliter pollicetur: librum gravem multis verbis conſcripſit, in quo ſummis eum effert laudibus. Quem cùm legiſſet, probâſſetque, dum obſignatur, alterum pari magnitudine, ut diſcerni non poſſet, ſignatum ſubjecit, in quo accuratiſſimè ejus avaritiam perfidiamque accuſârat. Hinc Lysander domum quum rediſſet, poſtquam de ſuis rebus geſtis apud maximum magiſtratum, quæ voluerat, dixerat, teſtimonii loco librum à Pharnabazo datum tradidit. Hunc, ſummoto Lyſandro, quum Ephori cognôſſent, ipſi legendum dederunt. Ita ille imprudens ipſe ſuus fuit accuſator.

*he requeſted of Pharnabazus, that he would give him a Teſtimonial to the Ephori, with how much Integrity he had carried on the War, and treated their Allies, and that he would write fully as to that Matter, for that his Authority would be great in that Caſe. He promiſes him frankly, wrote a large Letter in many Words, in which he extols him with the higheſt Praiſes; which when he had read, and approved, whilſt it is a ſealing, he put in its Room another of the like Bigneſs, that it could not be diſtinguiſhed from it*, ready *ſigned*; *in which he had charged him very particularly with his Covetouſneſs and Treachery. After this, when Lyſander was come Home, after he had ſaid what he had a Mind before the chief Magiſtrate, concerning his Exploits, he delivered the Letter given him by Pharnabazus, by Way of Teſtimonial. Lyſander being ordered to withdraw, when the Ephori had looked it over, they gave it him to read; ſo he was unawares his own Accuſer.*

VII. *ALCI-*

## VII.

## *ALCIBIADES*, Cliniæ *filius*, *Athenienſis*.

### Cap. I.

ALCIBIADES, Cliniæ filius, Athenienſis: in hoc natura quid efficere poſſit, videtur experta. Conſtat enim inter omnes, qui de eo memoriæ prodiderunt, nihil illo fuiſſe excellentius vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus. Natus in ampliſſimâ civitate, ſummo genere, omnium ætatis ſuæ multo formoſiſſimus: ad omnes res aptus, conſiliique plenus. Namque imperator fuit ſummus mari & terrâ: diſertus, ut in primis dicendo valeret: & tanta erat commendatio oris atque orationis, ut nemo ei dicendo poſſet reſiſtere. Idem, quum tempus poſceret, laborioſus, patiens, liberalis, ſplendidus, non minùs in vitâ quam victu: affabilis, blandus temporibus callidiſſimè inſerviens. Idem, ſimul ac ſe remiſerat, nec cauſa ſuberat, quare animi laborem perferret, luxurioſus, diſſolutus, libidinoſus,

## VII.

## *ALCIBIADES*, *the Son of* Clinias, *the Athenian*.

### Chap. I.

*ALCIBIADES, the Son of Clinias, the Athenian: Nature ſeems to have tried in him what ſhe could do. For it is agreed upon, amongſt all who have written about him, that nobody was more extraordinary than he, either in Vices, or in Virtues. Being born in a very great City, of a great Family, much the handſomeſt Man of all his Time: fit for all Things, and abounding in Senſe for the Management of Affairs. For he was a very great Commander,* both *by Sea and Land*; ſo *eloquent, that he mightily prevailed in ſpeaking: And ſuch was the Plauſibleneſs of his Elocution and Language, that in haranguing nobody was able to ſtand before him. The ſame Man, when Occaſion required,* was *laborious, hardy, generous, ſplendid, no leſs in* his *Equipage, than* his *Diet*; *affable, fawning, very cunningly ſerving the Times. The ſame* Man, *when he had unbent himſelf, and there was no Reaſon why*

dinosus, intemperans reperiebatur: ut omnes admirarentur, in uno homine tantam inesse dissimilitudinem, tamque diversam naturam.

*why he should take upon him any Labour of Thought, was found to be luxurious, dissolute, lustful, and intemperate; insomuch that all admired, that in the same Man there should be so much unlikeness to himself, and so different a Nature.*

CAP. II. Educatus est in domo Periclis, privignus enim ejus fuisse dicitur, eruditus à Socrate. Socerum habuit Hipponicum, omnium Græcæ linguæ eloquentiâ disertissimum; ut si ipse fingere vellet, neque plura bona reminisci, neque majora posset consequi, quàm vel fortuna vel natura tribuerat. Ineunte adolescentiâ, amatus est à multis, more Græcorum; in eis à Socrate, de quo mentionem facit Plato in Symposio: namque eum induxit commemorantem se pernoctâsse cum Socrate, neque aliter ab eo surrexisse, ac filius à parente debuerit. Posteaquam robustior est factus, non minùs multos amavit, in quorum amore, quoad licitum est, odiosa multa delicatè jocosèque fecit: que referremus, nisi majora potioraque haberemus.

CHAP. II. *He was educated in the House of Pericles (for he is said to have been his Step-son) instructed by* * *Socrates. He had for his Father-in-law Hipponicus, of all Men the ablest in the Eloquence of the Greek Language; that if he would have contrived* for himself, *he could neither have thought of more* Advantages, *nor have compassed greater, than either Fortune or Nature had bestowed* upon him. *In the Entrance upon his Manhood he was beloved by many, after the Fashion of the Greeks: and amongst them by Socrates, of whom Plato makes mention in his Symposium: For he has brought him in relating, that he lay all Night with Socrates, and rose from him no otherwise than a Son ought to do from his Father. After he was grown more a Man, he loved as many, in the Love of whom, so far as it was allowable* by the Laws, *he did many odious Things wantonly and jocosely; which we should relate, but that we have greater and better* Things to relate of him.

CAP. CHAP.

* This *Socrates* was the greatest Man amongst the Ancients: Such a complete Master of his Passions, that one of the greatest Misfortunes that can befal a good Man, a scolding Wife, was not able to discompose or put him out of Temper in the least.

Cap. III. Bello Peloponnesiaco, hujus consilio atque auctoritate Athenienses bellum Syracusanis indixerunt: ad quod gerendum ipse dux delectus est. Duo præterea collegæ dati, Nicias & Lamachus. Id quum appararetur, priusquam classis exiret, accidit, ut unâ nocte omnes Hermæ, qui in oppido erant Atheris, dejicerentur, præter unum, qui ante januam Andocidis erat, Andocidisque Hermes vocatus est. Hoc quum appareret, non sine magnâ multorum consensione esse factum, quòd non ad privatam, sed ad publicam rem pertineret, magnus multitudini timor est injectus, ne qua repentina vis in civitate existeret, quæ libertatem opprimeret populi. Hoc maximè convenire in Alcibiadem videbatur, quod & potentior & major, quàm privatus existimabatur. Multos enim liberalitate devinxerat, plures etiam operâ forensi

Chap. III. In the * *Peloponnesian War, by his Advice and Persuasion, the Athenians proclaim War against the* † *Syracusans; for the Management of which he was chosen General. Two Colleagues besides were given him, Nicias and Lamachus. Whilst that* Expedition *was preparing for, before the Fleet went out, it happened, that in one Night all the* ‡ *Mercuries which were in the Town of Athens, were thrown down, except one, which was before the Door of Andocides, and was called the Mercury of Andocides. As it appeared, this was not done without a strong Confederacy of many, because it did not appertain to a private, but a publick Concern; a mighty Terrour fell upon the People, lest a sudden Violence should break out in the City, that should bear down the Liberty of the People. This seemed chiefly to agree to Alcibiades, because he was thought both more powerful and greater than a private Person: For he had obliged many by his Generosity, and rendered*

* This Peloponnesian War was so called, because all the States of Peloponnesus joined in it, under the Command of the Lacedemonians, against the Athenians. It began in the Year before Christ 403, and ended in the taking of Athens, after the fatal Battle of the River Ægos, mentioned above, in the Year before Christ 435

† Syracuse is still a noted City on the Eastern Coast of the Isle of Sicily.

‡ Mercury was reckoned the God of Thieves, and therefore they used to erect his Statues before their Doors, by Way of Prevention against the Attempts of Robbers and House-breakers.

renſi ſuos reddiderat. Quâ re fiebat, ut omnium oculos, quotieſcunque in publicum prodîſſet, ad ſe converteret, neque ei par quiſquam in civitate poneretur. Itaque non ſolùm in eo ſpem habebant maximam, ſed etiam timorem, quod & obeſſe plurimùm, & prodeſſe poterat. Aſpergebatur etiam infamiâ, quòd in domo ſuâ facere myſteria dicebatur, quod nefas erat more Athenienſium; idque non ad religionem, ſed ad conjurationem pertinere exiſtimabatur.

*rendered more his Friends, by his ſerving them in their Law Concerns. By which Means it came to paſs, that he turned the Eyes of all People upon him, as oft as he went abroad; nor was any one counted equal to him in the* whole *City. Wherefore they not only had great Hopes in him, but* a great *Apprehenſion* of him *too, becauſe he was able both to do them a great deal of Miſchief, and* a great deal *of Service. He was likewiſe beſpattered with Infamy, becauſe it was ſaid, that he celebrated the* * *Myſteries in his own Houſe, which was a heinous Crime, according to the Uſage of the Athenians; and that was ſuppoſed not to concern Religion* ſo much, *as* to be an Argument of *a Conſpiracy.*

CAP. IV. Hoc crimine in concione ab inimicis compellabatur. Sed inſtabat tempus ad bellum proficiſcendi. Id ille intuens, neque ignorans civium ſuorum conſuetudinem, poſtulabat, ut ſi quid de ſe agi vellent, potius de præſenti quæſtio haberetur, quàm abſens invidiæ crimine accuſaretur. Inimici verò ejus quieſcendum in præſenti, quia

CHAP. IV. *He was charged with this Crime in an Aſſembly* of the People, *by his Enemies: But the Time for going to the War was at hand. He conſidering that, and being not ignorant of the Cuſtom of his Countrymen, inſiſted, that if they had a Mind to do any Thing about him, an Enquiry might be made about him* whilſt *preſent, rather than that he ſhould be charged with an invidious Crime* when *abſent. But his*

* Rites, ſecretly performed in Honour of any God, were called *Myſteries*. Thoſe here meant are the Myſteries of Ceres, worſhipped in a ſingular Manner at Eleuſis in Attica, nigh the Saronick Bay. None were admitted to the Celebration of theſe or any other *Myſteria*, but upon certain Conditions, one of which was an Oath of Secrecy.

quia nocere se ei non posse intelligebant, & illud tempus expectandum decreverunt, quo existeret, ut sic absentem aggrederentur; itaque fecerunt. Nam postquam in Siciliam eum perveniisse crediderunt, absentem, quòd sacra violâsset, reum fecerunt. Quâ de re quum ei nuncius a magistratu in Siciliam missus esset, ut domum ad causam dicendam rediret, essetque in magnâ spe provinciæ benè administrandæ; non parere noluit, & in triremem, quæ ad eum deportandum erat missa, ascendit: ac Thurios in Italiam pervectus, multa secum reputans de immoderatâ civium suorum licentiâ crudelitateque erga nobiles: utilissimùm ratus impendentem evitare tempestatem, clam se à custodibus subduxit, & inde primum Elidem, deinde Thebas, venit. Postquam autem se capitis damnatum, bonis publicatis, audivit, & quod usu venerat, Eumolpidas sacerdotes à populo coactos, ut se devoverent, ejusque devotionis quò testatior esset memoria, exemplum in pilâ lapideâ incisum, esse positum in publico, Lacedæmonem demigravit. Ibi (ut ipse prædicare

*his Enemies resolved to be quiet for the present, because they were sensible they could not hurt him, and to wait the Time when he should go out, that so they might attack him* when *absent. And so they did. For after they believed he was got into Sicily, they impeached him,* though *absent, for having profaned the Holy* Mysteries. *Concerning which Affair when a Messenger was dispatched to him into Sicily by the Government, that he should return Home to plead his Cause, and he was in great Hopes of managing his Province successfully, he would not disobey, and went on board a Ship with three Banks of Oars, which was sent to bring him away; and arriving at* * *Thurii in Italy, considering much with himself of the extravagant Licentiousness of his Countrymen, and their Cruelty towards Men of Quality, judging it the most expedient to avoid the impending Storm, he privately withdrew himself from his Keepers, and went from thence first to* † *Elis, and afterwards to* § *Thebes. But after he heard that he was condemned to die, his Estate being confiscated, and, which had been usual, that the Priests* called *Eumolpidæ had been forced by the People to curse him, and that the Monument of that Curse might be more publick, a Copy*



* A City in the Country of the Brutii in the Bottom of Italy.

† A City in the West Parts of Peloponnesus.

§ A City in the West Parts of Achaia, North of Athens, and the Metropolis of the Country called Bœotia.

dicare consueverat) non adversus patriam sed inimicos suos, bellum gessit, quòd iidem hostes essent civitati. Nam quum intelligerent se plurimùm prodesse reipublicæ, ex eâ ejecisse, plusque iræ suæ, quàm utilitati publicæ, paruisse. Itaque hujus consilio Lacedæmonii cum Persarum rege amicitiam fecerunt: deinde Deceliam in Atticâ munièrunt, præsidioque perpetuo ibi posito, in obsidione Athenas tenuerunt. Ejusdem operâ, Ioniam à societate averterunt Athenienssium; quo facto, multò superiores bello esse cœperunt.

of the Curse *was cut in a Stone Pillar, and erected in a publick* Place, *he removed to Lacedemon: There, as he used to say, he carried on a War, not against his Country, but his Enemies, because the same were Enemies to the City. For because they understood that he could be very serviceable to the Commonwealth, they had turned him out of it, and had more Regard to* the gratifying of *their own Resentment, than the common Interest. Wherefore, by his Advice, the Lacedemonians made an Alliance with the King of the Persians, and then fortified Decelia in Attica, and having placed a constant Garrison there, kept Athens under a Blockade. By his Means they took off Ionia from the Alliance of the Athenians; upon the doing of which they began to be much superior in the War.*

CAP. V. Neque verò his rebus tam amici Alcibiadi sunt facti, quàm timore ab eo alienati. Nam quum acerrimi viri præstantem prudentiam in omnibus rebus cognoscerent; pertimuerunt, ne, charitate patriæ ductus, aliquando ab ipsis desciscere, & cum suis in gratiam rediret. Itaque tempus ejus interficiendi quærere instituerunt. Id Alcibiadi diutiùs celari non potuit: erat enim eâ sagacitate, ut decipi non posset; præsertim quum animum attendisset ad cavendum. Itaque ad Tissaphernem

CHAP. V. *But they were not so much made Friends to Alcibiades by these Things, as* they were *alienated from him by Fear. For as they observed the excellent Conduct of this very active Man in all Things, they were afraid, lest, tempted by the Love of his Country, he should sometime revolt from them, and return to a good Understanding with his* Countrymen. *Wherefore, they resolved to seek an Opportunity to kill him. That could not be long concealed from Alcibiades. For he was a* Person *of that Sagacity, that he could not be deceived, especially when he applied his Attention*

hem præfectum regis Darii se contulit. Cujus quum in intimam amicitiam perveniſſet, & Athenienſium, malè geſtis in Sicilià rebus, opes ſeneſcere, contra Lacedæmoniorum creſcere, videret: initio cum Piſandro prætore, quòd apud Samum exercitum habebat, per internuncios colloquitur, & de reditu ſuo facit mentionem; erat enim eodem quo Alcibiades ſenſu, populi potentiæ non amicus, & optimatum fautor. Ab hoc deſtitutus, primùm per Thraſybulum, Lyci filium, ab exercitu recipitur, prætorque fit apud Samum. Pòſt, ſuffragante Theramene, plebiſcito reſtituitur, pariquè abſens imperio præficitur ſimul cum Thraſybulo & Theramene. Horum imperio tanta commutatio rerum facta eſt, ut Lacedæmonii, qui paulò antè victores viguerant, perterriti pacem peterent. Victi enim erant quinque prœliis terreſtribus, tribus navalibus: in quibus ducentas naves triremes amiſerant, quæ captæ, in hoſtium venerant poteſtatem. Alcibiades, ſimul cum collegis, receperat Ioniam, Helleſpontum, multas præterea urbes Græcas, quæ in oră ſitæ ſunt Aſiæ, quarum expugnaverant complures; in his Byzantium;

*tion to be upon his Guard. Wherefore he betook himſelf to Tiſſaphernes, Viceroy of King Darius, into whoſe intimate Friendſhip when he was got, and perceived the Power of the Athenians to decline, their Affairs being ill managed in Sicily,* and *on the other hand, that of the Lacedemonians to grow, he confers at firſt by Meſſengers, with Piſander the Commander, who had an Army at* * *Samos, and makes mention of his Return; for he was in the ſame Mind with Alcibiades, no Friend to the Power of the People, and a Favourer of the Quality. Being baulked by him, he is received firſt of all by the Army, by Means of Thraſybulus, the Son of Lycus, and is made Commander at Samos. Afterwards Theramenes making Intereſt for him, he is reſtored by a Decree of the People, and* though *abſent, is placed in the ſame Command, together with Thraſybulus and Theramenes. Under their Command, there was ſo great an Alteration of Affairs, that the Lacedemonians, who a little before had flouriſhed* as *Conquerors, being very much terrified, ſued for Peace; for they had been conquered in five Battles at Land,* and *three by Sea, in which they had loſt two hundred Ships with three Banks of Oars, which being taken, had come under the Power of the Enemies. Alcibiades, together with*

* Samos is an Iſland of the Ægean Sea, upon the Coaſt of Ionia.

tium; neque minùs multas consilio ad amicitiam adjunxerant, quod in captos clementiâ fuerant usi. Inde prædâ onusti, locupletato exercitu, maximis rebus gestis, Athenas venerunt.

*with his Fellow Commanders, had recovered Ionia, the Hellespont*, and *many Greek Cities besides, that are on the Border of Asia, several of which they took by Force; amongst these Byzantium. Nor had they brought over fewer to their Alliance by their good Conduct, because they used* great *Clemency to the Conquered. After this being laden with Spoil, having enriched their Army*, and *performed very great Things, they came to Athens.*

CAP. VI. His cum obviàm universa civitas in Pyræeum descendisset, tanta fuit omnium expectatio visendi Alcibiadis, ut ad ejus triremem vulgus conflueret, perinde, ac si solus advenisset. Sic enim populo erat persuasum, & adversas superiores, & præsentes secundas res, accidisse ejus operâ. Itaque & Siciliæ amissum, & Lacedæmoniorum victorias, culpæ suæ tribuebant, quòd talem virum è civitate expulissent. Neque id sine causâ arbitrari videbantur. Nam postquam exercitui præesse cœperat, neque terrâ, neque mari, hostes pares esse poterant. Hic ut navi egressus est, quanquam Theramenes & Thrasybulus eisdem rebus præfuerant, simulque venerant in Pyræeum, tamen illum unum omnes prosequebantur: & (id quod nunquam antea usu venerat,

CHAP. VI. *When the whole City came down to Pyræeus, to meet them, such was the Longing of all People to see Alcibiades, that the Commonalty flocked to his Ship, as if he had come alone. For thus the People were persuaded, that both their former ill* Success, *and their present good* Success, *had happened thro' his Means. Wherefore they imputed both the Loss of Sicily, and the Victories of the Lacedemonians, to their own Fault, because they had banished such a Man out of their City. Nor did they seem to think so without Reason: For after he began to command the Army, their Enemies were neither able to be a Match* for them *by Land nor Sea. As soon as he went out of his Ship, tho' Theramenes and Thrasybulus had been in the same Command, and had come together* with him *into Pyræeus, yet they all followed him alone; and (that which had never happened before, unless to the*

*Con-*

venerat, nisi Olympiæ victoribus) coronis aureis æreisque vulgò donabatur. Ille lachrymans talem benevolentiam civium suorum accipiebat, reminiscens pristini temporis acerbitatem. Postquam astu venit, concione advocatâ, sic verba fecit, ut nemo tam ferus fuerit, quin ejus casum lachrymârit, inimicumque his se ostenderit, quorum operâ patriâ pulsus fuerat; perinde ac si alius populus, non ille ipse qui tum flebat, eum sacrilegii damnâsset. Restituta ergo huic sunt publicè bona, iidemque illi Eumolpidæ sacerdotes rursus resecrare sunt coacti, qui eum devoverant; pilæque illæ, in quibus devotio fuerat scripta, in mare præcipitatæ.

*Conquerors at Olympia) he was commonly presented with golden and brazen Crowns. He received this Kindness of his Countrymen weeping, remembering their Severity some Time before. After he came to the City, having called an Assembly, he spoke so, that no Body was so cruel, but he lamented his hard Hap, and declared himself an Enemy to those, by whose Means he had been banished his Country; as if some other People, and not that very same which then wept, had condemned him for Sacrilege. Wherefore his Estate was restored him at the publick Charge, and the same Priests, called Eumolpidæ, who had cursed him, were obliged to recall their Curses; and the Pillars, upon which the Curse had been written, were thrown into the Sea.*

Cap. VII. Hæc Alcibiadi lætitia minùs fuit diuturna. Nam quum ei essent omnes honores decreti, totaque respublica domi bellique tradita, ut unius arbitrio gereretur; & ipse postulâsset, ut duo sibi collegæ darentur, Thrasybulus & Adimantus, neque id negatum esset; classe in Asiam profectus, quòd apud Cymen minùs ex sententiâ rem gesserat, in invidiam recidit; nihil enim eum non efficere posse ducebant. Ex quo fiebat ut omnia minùs prosperè gesta ejus culpæ tribuerent, quum eum aut negligenter, aut

Chap. VII. *This Joy of Alcibiades was not lasting; for after all* manner of *Honours had been voted for him, and the whole Management both at Home and in the War, delivered to him, to be carried on at the Pleasure of* him *alone, and he had demanded, that two Partners should be given him, Thrasybulus and Adimantus, nor was that denied* him; *going with the Fleet into Asia, because he did not manage his Business at Cyme to their Mind, he again fell under their Hatred; for they thought he could do every Thing. From whence it was, that they imputed all Things, less successfully managed, to his Fault, because they said he either*

aut malitiosè feciſſe loquerentur, ſicut tum accidit. Nam corruptum à rege, capere Cymen noluiſſe arguebant. Itaque huic maximè putamus malo fuiſſe nimiam opinionem ingenii atque virtutis. Timebatur enim non minùs quam diligebatur, ne ſecundâ fortunâ, magniſque elatus opibus, tyrannidem concupiſceret. Quibus rebus factum eſt, ut abſenti magiſtratum abrogarent, & alium in ejus locum ſubſtituerent. Id ille ut audivit, domum reverti noluit, & ſe Perinthum contulit, ibique tria caſtella communivit, Bornos, Byziam, Macrontichos; manuque collectâ, primus Græciæ in Thraciam introiit, gloriosius exiſtimans barbarorum prædâ locupletari, quàm Grajorum. Quâ ex re creverat ejus fama cum opibus, magnamque amicitiam ſibi cum quibuſdam regibus Thraciæ pepererat.

*either acted carelesly or maliciously; as it then happened. For they alledged against him, that, being bribed by the King* of Persia, *he would not take* * *Cyme. Wherefore we think that their excessive Opinion of his Parts and Abilities was chiefly his Misfortune. For, he was no less feared than beloved; left being elevated by his good Fortune and great Power, he should aim at the Sovereignty. By which Means it came to pass, that they took his Commission from him in his Absence, and put another in his Place. As soon as he heard that, he would not return Home, and betook himself to* † *Perinthus, and there fortified three Castles, Borni, Byzia,* and *Macrontichos; and having got together a Body of Troops, he entered into Thrace* ‡ *the first* Man *of Greece, thinking it more glorious to be enriched with the Spoils of the Barbarians, than the Greeks. From which Thing his Fame grew with his Riches, and he procured to himself a strong Alliance with several Kings of Thrace.*

CAP. VIII. Neque tamen à charitate patriæ potuit recedere. Nam quum apud Ægos flumen Philocles prætor Athenienſium claſſem con-

CHAP. VIII. *However, he could not recede from his Affection for his Country. For when Philocles, the Admiral of the Athenians, had drawn up his Fleet at the*

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* A Town of Æolia in Aſia Minor, upon the Ægean Sea.

† A Town of Thrace, upon the Propontis, afterwards called Heraclea.

‡ Our Author is here guilty of a ſtrange Piece of Forgetfulneſs, having told us above, that Miltiades had before planted a Colony in the Thracian Cherſoneſe, and made frequent Inroads into the neighbouring Country of the Thracians.

conſtituiſſet ſuam, neque longè abeſſet Lyſander prætor Lacedæmoniorum, qui in eo erat occupatus, ut bellum quàm diutiſſimè duceret, quòd ipſis pecunia à rege ſuppeditabatur: contrà, Athenienſibus exhauſtis, præter arma & naves, nihil erat ſuper: Alcibiades ad Athenienſium venit exercitum, ibique, præſente vulgo, agere cœpit, ſi vellent, ſe coacturum Lyſandrum aut dimicare, aut pacem petere; Lacedæmonios eò nolle confligere claſſe, quòd pedeſtribus copiis pluſquam navibus valerent: Sibi autem eſſe facile Suthen regem Thracûm deducere, ut eos terrâ depelleret. Quo facto neceſſariò aut claſſe conflicturos, aut bellum compoſituros. Id etſi verè dictum Philocles animadvertebat, tamen poſtulata facere noluit, quòd ſentiebat ſe, Alcibiade recepto, nullius momenti apud exercitum futurum; & ſi quid ſecundi eveniſſet, nullam in eâ re ſuam partem fore: contra ea, ſi quid adverſi accidiſſet, ſe unum ejus delicti futurum reum. Ab hoc diſcedens Alcibiades, *Quoniam*, inquit, *victoriæ patriæ repugnas, illud moneo, juxta hoſtes caſtra habeas nautica. Periculum eſt enim ne immoderatâ militum noſtrorum occaſio detur Lyſandro noſtri opprimendi exercitûs.* Neque ea res illum fefellit. Nam Lyſander, quum per ſpeculatores com-

*the River Ægos, and Lyſander was not far off, the Admiral of the Lacedemonians, who was employed wholly in a Deſign to protract the War as long as poſſible, becauſe Money was given them by the King* of Perſia; *on the other hand, the Athenians being exhauſted had nothing left beſides their Arms and their Ships: Alcibiades came to the Army of the Athenians, and there, before the common Soldiery, he began to tell them, that, if they pleaſed, he would force Lyſander either to fight or beg Peace; that the Lacedemonians were unwilling to engage with their Fleet for this Reaſon, becauſe they were ſtronger in Land Forces than Ships; but that it was an eaſy Matter for him to bring down Seuthes, King of the Thracians, to drive them from the Land; upon which they would of Neceſſity either engage with their Fleet, or make an End of the War. Tho' Philocles obſerved that was rightly ſaid, yet he would not do the Things deſired, becauſe he was ſenſible, that if Alcibiades was received* amongſt them, *he ſhould be of no Account with the Army; and if any good Succeſs happened* upon it, *that his Share in the Matter would be none at all: On the other hand, if any ill Hap ſhould fall out, that he alone ſhould be called to an Account for the Miſcarriage. Alcibiades*, upon his *departing from him, ſaid*, Since you oppoſe your Country's Succeſs, this however I adviſe you, to have your Sea-Camp nigh the Enemy; for the Danger

comperîſſet, vulgum Athenienſium in terram prædatum exîſſe, naveſque penè inanes relictas, tempus rei gerendæ non dimiſit, eoque impetu totum bellum delevit.

Danger is, leſt, by the diſorderly Behaviour of our Soldiers, an Opportunity ſhould be given Lyſander of cutting off our Army. *Nor did that Thing deceive him; for Lyſander, after he had found by his Scouts, that the common Soldiers of the Athenians were gone aſhore plundering, and that the Ships were left almoſt empty, did not let ſlip the Opportunity of doing his Buſineſs, and at that Puſh made an End of the whole War.*

CAP. IX. At Alcibiades, victis Athenienſibus, non ſuis tuta eadem loca ſibi arbitratus, penitùs in Thraciam ſe ſupra Propontidem abdidit, ſperans ibi facillimè ſuam fortunam occuli poſſe; ſed falsò. Nam Thraces, poſtquam eum cum magnâ pecuniâ veniſſe ſenſerunt, inſidias ei fecerunt; qui ea quæ apportavit abſtulerunt, ipſum capere non potuerunt. Ille cernens nullum locum ſibi tutum in Græciâ, propter potentiam Lacedæmoniorum, ad Pharnabazum in Aſiam tranſit; quem quidem adeò ſuâ cepit humanitate, ut eum nemo in amicitiâ antecederet. Namque ei Grunium dedit in Phrygiâ caſtrum, ex quo quinquaginta talenta vectigalis capiebat. Quâ fortunâ

CHAP. IX. *But Alcibiades, after the Athenians were conquered, not thinking the ſame Places ſecure enough for him, hid himſelf a good Way up in Thrace, above the Propontis, hoping that his Condition might be very eaſily concealed there; but falſly. For the Thracians, after they perceived he was come with a great deal of Money, laid an Ambuſh for him, who got the Things which he brought with him, but could not catch him. He perceiving no Place was ſafe for him in Greece, by reaſon of the Power of the Lacedemonians, went over to Pharnabazus into Aſia, whom he ſo charmed with his courteous Behaviour, that nobody exceeded him in his Friendſhip. For he gave him Grunium, a Caſtle in Phrygia, from which he received* yearly *fifty* * *Talents Revenue; with which good Fortune Alcibiades*

* The Talent uſed in common Reckoning, was that of Attica, worth about 20*l.*

nâ Alcibiades non erat contentus, neque Athenas victas Lacedæmoniis servire poterat pati. Itaque ad patriam liberandam omni ferebatur cogitatione, sed videbat id sine rege Persarum non posse fieri: ideoque eum amicum sibi cupiebat adjungi: neque dubitabat facile se consecuturum, si modo ejus conveniendi habuisset potestatem. Nam Cyrum fratrem ei bellum clam parare, Lacedæmoniis adjuvantibus, sciebat. Id si ei aperuisset, magnam se ab eo initurum gratiam videbat.

biades was not content, nor could he endure, that conquered Athens should be subject to the Lacedemonians. Wherefore he was bent, with the utmost Concern, upon delivering his Country; but saw that could not be done without the King * of the Persians; and therefore he desired to have him joined to him as his Friend. Nor did he doubt but he should easily compass it, provided he could but have the Opportunity of waiting upon him; for he knew that his Brother † Cyrus was privately levying War against him, with the Lacedemonians assisting him, if he discovered this to him, he saw that he should be in great Favour with him.

Cap. X. Hæc quum moliretur, peteretque à Pharnabazo, ut ad regem mitteretur, eodem tempore Critias, cæteriquè tyranni Atheniensium certos homines ad Lysandrum in Asiam miserunt, qui eum certiorem facerent, nisi Alcibiadem sustulisset, nihil earum rerum fore ratum, quas ipse Athenis constituisset. Quare,

Chap. X. Whilst he was attempting this, and desiring Pharnabazus, that he might be sent to the King, at the same Time Critias, and the other Tyrants ‖ of the Athenians, dispatched away trusty Men into Asia to Lysander, to make him acquainted, that unless he took off Alcibiades, none of those Things would stand good, which he had Established at Athens; Wherefore, if he had a Mind his

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* This King of the Persians was Artaxerxes Mnemon, Son of Darius Nothus.

† This Cyrus is commonly surnamed the Less, to distinguish him from the Grand Cyrus, the Founder of the Persian Monarchy. He was a Prince of great Abilities, according to Xenophon's Account of him, who was personally acquainted with him, and attended him in his Expedition against his Brother. He had been made by his Father Governor of Asia Minor.

‖ When the Lacedemonians had reduced Athens, in the Conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, they vested the Government in a Council of Thirty, ever after called the Thirty Tyrants.

re, si suas res gestas manere vellet, illum persequeretur. His Lacon rebus commotus statuit acuratiùs sibi agendum cum Pharnabazo. Huic ergo renunciat, quæ régi cum Lacedæmoniis essent, stare non posse, fœderaque irrita futura, nisi Alcibiadem vivum aut mortuum tradidisset. Non tulit hoc satrapes, & violare clementiam, quàm regis opes minui, maluit. Itaque misit Sysamithren & Bageum ad Alcibiadem interficiendum, quum ille esset in Phrygiâ, iterque ad regem pararet. Missi, clam vicinitati, in quâ tum Alcibiades erat, dant negotium, ut eum interficiant. Illi quum cum ferro aggredi non auderent, noctu ligna contulerunt circa casam eam, in quâ quiescebat, eamque succenderunt, ut incendio conficerent, quem manu superari posse diffidebant. Ille autem sonitu flammæ excitatus, quòd gladius ei erat subductus, familiaris sui subalare telum eripuit: Namque erat cum eo quidam ex Arcadiâ hospes, qui nunquam discedere volebat. Hunc sequi se jubet, & id quod in præsentiâ vestimentorum fuit arripuit. His in ignem ejectis, flammæ vim transit.

*Acts should continue, he must look after him. The Lacedemonian, being roused with this, resolved to deal roundly with Pharnabazus. Wherefore he tells him that the Alliance which the King had with the Lacedemonians could not continue, and that the Treaties would be of no Effect, unless he delivered up Alcibiades alive or dead. The Viceroy could not bear that, and chose rather to violate* the Laws of *Clemency, than that the King's Interest should be lessened. Wherefore he sent Sysamithres and Bageus to kill Alcibiades, whilst he was in* * *Phrygia, and preparing for a Journey to the King. The* Persons *sent privately give Order to the Neighbourhood in which Alcibiades then was, to kill him. They, not daring to attack him with the Sword, in the Night-time laid Wood about the thatched House, in which he was asleep, and set it on Fire, that they might dispatch him by Burning, whom they despaired could be mastered by Fighting. But he being awakened by the Crackling of the Flame, because his Sword had been privately withdrawn from him, drew out a Dagger of his Friend. For there was with him a certain Host of his of* † *Arcadia, who would never depart from him: He bids him follow him, and took up what Cloaths he had by him at that Time, and throwing them out into the*

* There were two Provinces of Asia Minor called Phrygia, the Bigger and the Lesser.

† Arcadia is a Country in the Middle of Peloponnesus.

transit. Quem ut barbari incendium effugisse eminùs viderunt, telis missis interfecerunt, caputque ejus ad Pharnabazum retulerunt. At mulier, quæ cum eo vivere consueverat, muliebri suâ veste contectum, ædificii incendio mortuum cremavit, quod ad vivum interimendum erat comparatum. Sic Alcibiades, annos circiter quadraginta natus, diem obiit supremum.

*the Fire, passes the Fury of the Flame. Whom as soon as the Barbarians saw at a Distance to have escaped the Fire, discharging their Weapons* at him, *they killed, and brought his Head to Pharnabazus. But the * Woman which had used to live with him, burnt him* when *dead, covered with her own Raiment, in the Fire of the House, which had been prepared to burn him alive. Thus Alcibiades ended his last Day, being about forty Years old.*

Cap. XI. Hunc infamatum à plerisque tres gravissimi historici summis laudibus extulerunt: Thucydides, qui ejusdem ætatis fuit; Theopompus, qui fuit post aliquantò natus; & Timæus; qui quidem duo maledicentissimi, nescio quomodo, in illo

Chap. XI. *Three very authentick Historians have extolled him,* tho' *blackened by most* Writers, *with the highest Commendations; Thucydides, who was of the same Age; Theopompus, who was born some Time after; and Timæus; Which two* last, tho' *much addicted to ill Language, I know not*



* Alcibiades seems, by this Account, to have been but very poorly attended for a Person of his Figure, whose Circumstances, though in Banishment, might very well have afforded him a much more considerable Equipage; since he had, by Virtue of Pharnabazus's Generosity to him, an Income of ten thousand Pounds a Year. But we are not to judge of Antiquity by the present Times, and think every Thing incredible, that does not square with the Way and Fashion of the World now-a-days. There was then a great Simplicity of Manners among the Greeks, which, with the Freedom of their Government, rendered them invincible; as the Luxury of the Persians, a beautiful, fashionable People, like us, together with their slavish Subjection to their Prince, rendered them an easy Prey to the Greeks, and made them fly like Sheep in the Day of Battle. There is Abundance of amazing Instances of this prodigious Difference betwixt the two Nations, in the History of Greece; which Consideration ought to produce in us a passionate Fondness of Liberty, that dear Delight of the best and bravest of Men, the Root and Support of all that is valuable in the World, and without which this Life is but a Sort of Hell upon Earth.

illo uno laudando consenserunt. Nam ea, quæ suprà diximus, de eo prædicârunt, atque hoc ampliùs: quum Athenis splendissimâ civitate natus esset, omnes Athenienses splendore ac dignitate vitæ superâsse. Postquam inde expulsus Thebas venerit, adeò studiis eorum inservisse, ut nemo eum labore corporisque viribus posset æquiparare. Omnes enim Bœotii magis firmitati corporis quàm ingenii acumini inserviunt. Eundem apud Lacedæmonios, quorum moribus summa virtus in patientiâ ponebatur, sic duritiei se dedisse, ut parsimoniâ victûs atque cultûs omnes Lacedæmonios vinceret. Fuisse apud Thracas, homines vinolentos, rebusque venereis deditos: hos quoquè in his rebus anteceSSisse. Venisse ad Persas, apud quos summa laus esset fortiter venari, luxuriosè vivere. Horum sic imitatum consuetudinem, ut illi ipsi eum in his maximè admirarentur. Quibus rebus effeciSSe, ut, apud quoscunque esset, princeps poneretur, habereturque charissimus. Sed satis de hoc; reliquos ordiamur.

*how, have agreed together in praising him alone; for they have related those Things of him, which we have spoken above, and this farther, that tho' he was born in Athens, the most splendid City* in the World, *he excelled all the Athenians in the Splendour and Dignity of his Life. After he came to Thebes,* upon his *being banished thence, he so applied himself to their Course of Life, that nobody could equal him in the laborious Exercises, and Strength of Body; for all the Bœotians mind more the* Improvement of their *bodily Strength than Acuteness of Parts. The same* Man, *amongst the Lacedemonians, according to the Fashion of whom, the highest Virtue was placed in the enduring of Hardship, did so give himself up to a hard Way of Life, that he excelled all the Lacedemonians in the Frugality of his Diet and Dress. That he was amongst the Thracians, drunken Fellows, and addicted to Lewdness; he quite outwent them too in these Matters. That he came amongst the Persians, with whom it was* Matter *of the highest Commendation, to hunt hard and live high. That he so imitated their Way* of Life, *that they themselves admired him prodigiously in these Things. By which Means he brought it to pass, that with whomsoever he was, he was reckoned a leading Man, and mightily beloved. But enough of him: Let us now proceed to the rest.*

VIII. *THRA-*

## VIII.

## THRASYBULUS, Lyci Filius, Athenienſis.

### Cap. I.

THRASYBULUS, Lyci filius, Athenienſis. Si per ſe virtus ſine fortunâ ponderanda ſit, dubito an hunc primum omnium ponam. Illi ſine dubio neminem præfero, fide, conſtantiâ, magnitudine animi, in patriam amore: Nam quod multi voluerunt, pauci potuerunt, ab uno tyranno patriam liberare, huic contigit, ut à triginta oppreſſam tyrannis, è ſervitute in libertatem vindicaret. Sed neſcio quomodo, quum eum nemo anteiret his virtutibus, multi nobilitate præcurrerunt. Primùm, Peloponneſio bello multa hic ſine Alcibiade geſſit: ille nullam rem ſine hoc: quæ ille univerſa naturali quodam bono fecit lucri. Sed illa tamen omnia communia imperatoribus cum militibus & fortunâ, quod in prælii concurſu abit res à conſilio ad vires vimque pugnantium. Itaque jure ſuo nonnulla ab impera-

## VIII.

## THRASYBULUS, *the Son of* Lycus, *the Athenian.*

### Chap. I.

*THRASYBULUS, the Son of Lycus, the Athenian. If Virtue is to be conſidered by itſelf, without Fortune, I am in Doubt, whether or no I ſhould not place him the firſt of all the* Greek Commanders. *Without doubt, I prefer nobody before him, for Honour, Conſtancy, Greatneſs of Soul,* and *Love to his Country. For what a great many have deſired,* but *few could* effect, that is, *to deliver their Country from one Tyrant, happened to him, to deliver his Country oppreſſed by thirty Tyrants, out of Slavery into Liberty. But I know not how, tho' nobody excelled him in thoſe Virtues, many outſtripped him in Fame. Firſt of all in the Peloponneſian War, he performed many Things without Alcibiades: He* did *nothing without him; all which, by a certain natural Advantage, he gained the Credit of. But however, all thoſe Things* are *in common to the Generals with the Soldiery and Fortune, becauſe, in the Rencoun-*

*ter*

imperatore miles, plurima verò fortuna, vendicat: seque his plùs valuisse, quàm ducis prudentiam, verè potest prædicare. Quare illud magnificentissimum factum proprium est Thrasybuli: Nam quum triginta tyranni, præpositi à Lacedæmoniis, servitute oppressas tenerent Athenas, plurimos cives, quibus in bello pepercerat fortuna, partim patriâ expulissent, partim interfecissent, plurimorum bona publicata inter se divisissent; non solum princeps, sed & solus initio bellum his indixit.

*ter of a Battle, the Business proceeds from Conduct to Strength, and the Mettle of the Fighters. Wherefore the Soldier of Right claims something from the General, but Fortune very much; and she may truly boast, that she has* always *prevailed more in those Matters, than the Prudence of a General. Wherefore that most noble Action is entirely Thrasybulus's; for when the thirty Tyrants, set up by the Lacedemonians, kept Athens oppressed in Slavery, and partly banished their Country, partly killed a great many Citizens, whom Fortune had spared in the War, and divided their Estates, being confiscated amongst them, he was not only the principal, but the only Man at first,* that *made War upon them.*

CAP. II. Hic enim quum Phylen confugisset, quod est castellum in Atticâ munitissimum, non plus habuit secum quàm triginta de suis. Hoc initium fuit salutis Atticorum: hoc robur libertatis clarissimæ civitatis. Neque verò hic contemptus est primò à tyrannis, sed ejus solitudo: quæ quidem res & illis contemnentibus perniciei, & huic despecto saluti, fuit. Hæc enim illos ad persequendum segnes, hos autem, tempore ad comparandum dato, fecit robustiores. Quò magis præceptum illud omnium in animis esse debet. Nihil in bello oportere contemni: nec sine causâ dici,

CHAP. II. *For when he first fled to Phyle, which is a very strong Castle in Attica, he had no more with him than thirty of his Countrymen. This was the Original of the Recovery of the Athenians; this the Strength of the Liberty of* that *most famous City. And indeed he was not so much despised at first by the Tyrants, as his being alone: which Thing was both the Ruin of those that despised* him, *and and the Security of him that was despised; for this rendered them too lazy to look after him, and made the others stronger, by the Time* that was *given them to make due Preparations. For which the more ought that Maxim to be in the Minds of all, That nothing*

Matrem

*ought*

Matrem timidi flere non solere. Neque tamen pro opinione Thrasybuli auctæ sunt opes; nam jam illis temporibus fortiùs boni pro libertate loquebantur, quàm pugnabant. Hinc in Pyræum transiit, Munichiamque munivit. Hanc bis tyranni oppugnare sunt aggressi, ab eâq; turpiter repulsi, protinus in urbem armis impedimentisque amissis, refugerunt. Ejus est Thrasybulus non minùs prudentiâ quam fortitudine: nam cedentes violari vetuit, cives enim civibus parcere æquum censebat. Neque quisquam est vulneratus, nisi qui prior impugnare voluit. Neminem jacentem veste spoliavit: nil attigit nisi arma, quorum indigebat, & quæ ad victum pertinebant. In secundo prælio cecidit Critias, dux tyrannorum, quum quidem adversus Thrasybulum fortissimè pugnaret.

*ought to be slighted in War, and that it is not said without a Reason, that the Mother of a Coward does not use to weep. However, Thrasybulus's Strength was not increased according to his Expectations. For even then at that Time, good Men spoke more bravely for their Liberty, than they fought* for it. *After that he went into Pyræus, and fortified Munichia. The Tyrants twice attempted to assault it, and being shamefully driven from it, immediately fled into the Town, their Arms and Baggage being lost. Thrasybulus made use of Prudence no less than Valour; for he forbid those that fled to be hurt; for he thought it reasonable, that Citizens should spare their* Fellow-*Citizens; nor was any one wounded, but he that would first attack* them. *He stripped no one as he lay, of his Clothes; he meddled with nothing but Arms which he wanted, and Provisions. In the second Battle fell Critias the Tyrants General, after he had indeed fought very bravely against Thrasybulus.*

Cap. III. Hoc dejecto, Pausanias venit Atticis auxilio, rex Lacedæmoniorum. Is inter Thrasybulum & eos qui urbem tenebant, fecit pacem his conditionibus: Ne qui, præter triginta tyrannos, & decem, qui postea prætores creati, superioris more crudelitatis erant usi, afficerentur exilio: neve cujusquam bona publicarentur: reipublicæ

Chap. III. *He being slain, Pausanias, King of the Lacedemonians, came to the Assistance of the Athenians. He made a Peace between Thrasybulus and those who held the Town, upon these Terms: That none besides the Thirty Tyrants, and the Ten, who being afterwards made Governors of the City, had used the Way of the former Cruelty, should be punished with Banishment, nor*

any

reipublicæ procuratio populo redderetur. Præclarum hoc quoquè Thrasybuli, quòd reconciliatâ pace, quum plurimùm in civitate posset, legem tulit, ne quis anteactarum rerum accusaretur, neve multaretur: eamque illi legem oblivionis appellârunt. Neque verò hanc tantùm ferendam curavit, sed etiam ut valeret, effecit. Nam quum quidam ex his, qui simul cum eo in exilio fuerant, cædem facere eorum vellent, cum quibus in gratiam reditum fuerat; publicè prohibuit, & id, quod pollicitus erat, præstitit.

*any one's Estate confiscated, and the Government of the Commonwealth restored to the People. This, likewise* was *a famous Thing of Thrasybulus, that* after *a Peace* was *made*, and *he was the most powerful Person in the City, he made a Law that nobody should be called to an Account for Things past, nor punished*; *and they called that an Act of Oblivion. Nor did he only take Care that this should be passed, but likewise looked to it that it should take Place effectually: For when some of those, who had been together with him in Banishment, would have made a Massacre of those with whom they had returned to good Agreement*; *he publickly hindered it, and performed that which he had promised.*

CAP. IV. Huic pro tantis meritis, honoris ergò, corona à populo data est, facta è duabus virgulis oleaginis: quæ, quòd amor civium, non vis expresserat, nullam habuit invidiam, magnæque fuit gloriæ. Bene ergo Pittacus ille, qui septem sapientum numero est habitus, quum ei Mitylenæi multa millia jugerum agri muneri darent, *Nolite*,

CHAP. IV. *A* * *Crown made of two Sprigs of Olive, was, by Way of Respect to him, given him by the People, for these eminent Services: which because the Love of his Countrymen, and not Violence had procured him, had no Hatred* attending it, *and was* Matter *of great Glory. Wherefore that Pittacus, who was reckoned in the Number of the Seven* † *Wise Men, when the Mityle-*

* This is an Instance and a Proof of the Plainness and Simplicity of those Times, in Comparison of our own. The Olive was a Tree sacred to the Goddess Minerva, Patroness of their City; for the Heathens had, in every City almost, some peculiar God or Goddess, looked upon as the Guardian of the Place.

† These Seven Wise Men flourished about the Times of Crœsus, the rich King of Lydia, and Cyrus the Great, Founder of the Persian Monarchy, *i. e.* about 560 Years before Christ.

*Nolite, rogo vos,* (inquit) *mihi dare, quod multi invideant, plures etiam concupiscant. Quare ex istis nolo amplius quàm centum jugera, quæ & meam animi æquitatem, & vestram voluntatem indicent. Nam parva munera, diutina; locupletia, non propria esse consueverunt.* Illâ igitur coronâ contentus Thrasybulus, neque ampliùs requisivit, neque quenquam honore se anteceſſisse existimavit. Hic, sequenti tempore, quum prætor classem ad Ciliciam appulisset, neque satìs diligenter in castris ejus agerentur vigiliæ, à barbaris, ex oppido noctu eruptione factâ, in tabernaculo interfectus est.

*Mitylenæans * gave him a great many thousand † Acres of Land* as *a Present, said well,* Do not, I beseech you, give me what many may envy me for, and more covet. Wherefore I will *have* no more of those than a hundred Acres, which may both shew the Reasonableness of my Mind, and your Goodwill. For small Gifts *are* lasting, but rich ones do not use to be of any long Continuance. *Wherefore Thrasybulus, being content with that Crown, neither sought for more, nor thought any one exceeded him in Honour. He some time after, when being Admiral, he brought up his Fleet to Cilicia, and the Watch was not diligently enough kept in his Camp, was slain in his Tent by the Barbarians, in a Sally made out of the Town in the Night-time.*

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* Mytilene was the chief City of Lesbos, an Island in the Egean Sea, nigh the Coast of Asia Minor.

† Though I have rendered the Word *Jugera,* Acres, yet it is only for Want of a better. *Jugerum* is a Piece of Land 240 Roman Feet long, and 120 broad, not much above half our Acre.

## IX.

## *CONON, Athenienſis.*

### CAP. I.

CONON Athenienſis Peloponneſio bello acceſſit ad rempublicam, in eoque ejus opera magni fuit; nam & prætor pedeſtribus exercitibus præfuit, & præfectus claſſis res magnas mari geſſit. Quas ob cauſas præcipuus ei honos habitus eſt. Namque omnibus unus inſulis præfuit: in quâ poteſtate Pharas cepit, coloniam Lacedæmoniorum. Fuit enim extremo Peloponneſio bello prætor, quum apud Ægos flumen copiæ Athenienſium à Lyſandro ſunt devictæ. Sed tum abfuit, eòque pejùs res adminiſtrata eſt; nam & prudens rei militaris, & diligens erat imperator. Itaque nemini erat his temporibus dubium, ſi adfuiſſet, illam Athenienſes calamitatem accepturos non fuiſſe.

### CAP. II.

Rebus autem afflictis, quum patriam obſideri audiſſet, non quæſivit, ubi ipſe tutò viveret, ſed unde

## IX.

## *CONON, the Athenian.*

### CHAP. I.

*CONON the Athenian came to be employed in publick Affairs in the Peloponneſian War, and his Service in it was of great* Account; *for he both commanded, as General, the Land Forces, and being Admiral of the Fleet, performed great Things by Sea: For which Reaſon a particular Honour was conferred upon him. For he alone governed all the Iſlands: in which Poſt he took Pharæ, a Colony of the Lacedemonians. He was likewiſe a Commander in the latter End of the Peloponneſian War, when the Forces of the Athenians were defeated by Lyſander at the River Ægos. But he was then abſent, and the Matter was ſo much the worſe managed; for he was both well ſkilled in military Affairs, and a diligent Commander. Wherefore it was a Doubt with nobody in thoſe Times,* that *if he had been there, the Athenians would not have received that Loſs.*

### CHAP. II.

*But the Affairs* of the Athenians *being now in a bad Condition, when he heard that his native City was beſieged, he did*

not

unde præsidio esset civibus suis. Itaque contulit se ad Pharnabazum satrapen Ioniæ & Lydiæ, eundemque generum regis & propinquum: apud quem ut multùm gratiâ valeret, multo labore multisque effecit periculis. Nam quum Lacedæmonii, Atheniensibus devictis, in societate non manerent, quam cum Artaxerxe fecerant. Agesilaumque bellatum misissent in Asiam, maximè impulsi à Tissapherne, qui ex intimis regis ab amicitiâ ejus defecerat, & cum Lacedæmoniis coierat societatem; hunc adversus Pharnabazus habitus est imperator: re quidem verâ exercitui præfuit Conon, ejusque omnia arbitrio gesta sunt. Hic multùm ducem summum Agesilaum impedivit, sæpeque ejus consiliis obstitit. Neque verò non fuit apertum, si ille non fuisset, Agesilaum Asiam Tauro tenus regi fuisse eripturum. Qui postea quàm domum à civibus suis revocatus est, quòd Bœotii & Athenienses Lacedæmoniis bellum indixerant: Conon nihilo secius apud præfectos regis versabatur, hisque omnibus maximo erat usui.

*not seek a Place where he might live securely himself, but from whence he might be assisting to his Countrymen; wherefore he betook himself to Pharnabazus, the Viceroy of Ionia and Lydia, and the same* likewise *Son in-law of the King and his Relation: with whom he procured himself a very great Interest, by his great Diligence, and* the running of *many Dangers. For when the Lacedemonians,* after *the Athenians* were *conquered, did not continue in the Alliance which they had made with Artaxerxes, and sent Agesilaus into Asia, to make War, being encouraged chiefly by Tissaphernes, who, of* one of *the King's Intimates, had quitted his Friendship, and clapped up an Alliance with the Lacedemonians; Pharnabazus was accounted the General against him, but indeed Conon commanded the Army, and all Things were managed at his Pleasure. He very much curbed that great General Agesilaus, and oftentimes obstructed his Designs. And indeed it was very apparent, that if he had not been* there, *Agesilaus would have taken* all *Asia, as far as Mount * Taurus, from the King. After he was recalled home by his Countrymen, because the Bœotians and Athenians had proclaimed War against the Lacedemonians; Conon notwithstanding continued with the King's Vice-*

CAP. M 2 *roys,*

* A Mountain of Asia, that takes its Rise upon the Borders of Cilicia, and runs through the Middle of Asia.

*roys, and was of great Service to them all.*

CAP. III Defecerat à rege Tiſſaphernes, neque id tam Artaxerxi, quàm cæteris, erat apertum: multis enim magnisque meritis apud regem, etiam cum in officio non maneret, valebat. Neque id mirandum, ſi non facilè ad credendum inducebatur, reminiſcens ejus ſe operâ Cyrum fratrem ſuperâſſe. Hujus accuſandi gratiâ Conon à Pharnabazo ad regem miſſus, poſteaquam venit, primùm, ex more Perſarum, ad chiliarchum, qui ſecundum gradum imperii tenebat, Tithrauſtem, acceſſit, ſeque oſtendit cum rege colloqui velle; nemo enim ſine hoc admittitur. Huic ille, *Nulla*, inquit, *mora eſt*; *ſed tu delibera, utrum colloqui malis, an per literas agere, quæ cogitas. Neceſſe eſt enim, ſi in conſpectum veneris, venerari te regem (quod προσκυνεῖν illi vocant.) Hoc ſi tibi grave eſt, per me nihilo ſecius editis mandatis, conficies quod ſtudes.* Tum Conon, *Mihi verò*, inquit, *non eſt grave quemvis honorem habere regi:*

CHAP. III. *Tiſſaphernes had revolted from the King, nor was that ſo plain to Artaxerxes, as to other People; for he had a great Sway with the King, by* reaſon of his *many and great Services, even when he did not continue in his Allegiance. Nor* is *it to be wondered at, if he was not eaſily induced to believe it, remembering that he had conquered his Brother Cyrus by his Means. Conon being ſent by Pharnabazus to the King, in order to accuſe him, after he came* to Court, *firſt applied, according to the Cuſtom of the Perſians, to Tithrauſtes, Captain of the Guard, who had the next Degree of Power* to the King himſelf; *and informs him that he was deſirous to ſpeak with the King, for nobody is admitted without him.* Upon which *he ſays to him*, There is no Obſtacle *to that*; but do you conſider whether you had rather talk with him, or treat *with him* by Letters, upon what you deſign. For it is neceſſary *for you*, if you come into his Sight, to * worſhip the King which they call προσκυνεῖν. If this be

* This Worſhipping was falling flat on the Face upon the Ground before the King. The Greeks looked upon this as a Piece of baſe mean-ſpirited Submiſſion, and could few of them be brought to comply with it. Nay, an Athenian Ambaſſador, having once ſubmitted to worſhip the King, was put to Death for it by the Athenians, upon his Return Home, as having done a Thing highly reflecting on the Honour of his Country.

*regi: sed vereor, ne civitati meæ sit opprobrio, si, cùm ex eâ sim profectus, quæ cæteris gentibus imperare consueverit, potiùs barbarorum, quàm illius, more fungar.* Itaque quæ volebat, huic scripta tradidit.

be troublesome to you, giving me your Instructions, you shall notwithstanding dispatch what you desire. *Then Conon replied,* It is not indeed any Trouble to me to pay any Respect to the King: but I am afraid, lest it should be a Disparagement to my native City, if, tho' I proceed from a City, which has been accustomed to rule over other Nations, I should observe the Usages of * Foreigners, rather than that of my native City. *Wherefore he delivered to him in Writing what he had a Mind to say.*

Cap. IV. Quibus cognitis rex tantùm auctoritate ejus motus est, ut Tissaphernem hostem judicârit, & Lacedæmonios bello persequi jusserit, & ei permiserit, quem vellet, eligere ad dispensandam pecuniam. Id arbitrium Conon negavit sui esse consilii, sed ipsius, qui optimè suos nôsse deberet. Sed se suadere Pharnabazo id negotii daret. Hinc, magnis muneribus donatus, ad mare est

Chap. IV. *Which Things being known, the King was so much wrought upon by his Persuasion, that he declared Tissaphernes an Enemy, and ordered him to fall upon the Lacedæmonians in War, and permitted him to choose whom he pleased, to disburse the Money* for the Army. *Conon denied that Choice was* a Matter *for his Determination, but his own, who ought to know his own* Subjects *best; but that he advised him to give that Employ to Pharnabazus. Upon*

* The Word *Barbarus* is borrowed from the Greeks, amongst whom it was originally used to signify those that talked badly, or with Difficulty; and because that was commonly the Case of Foreigners, as to the Greek Tongue, it was used for all that were not Greeks. At last the Word was taken in an ill Sense; for the Greeks valuing themselves upon their Learning, Politeness and Humanity, by which indeed they stood remarkably distinguished from the rest of Mankind, in its Application to Foreigners, it had at length tacked to it an Intimation of their Deficiency in the noblest Ornaments of human Nature mentioned before; and at last of all was used for as ignorant, brutish, cruel Man, whether Foreigner or Greek.

est missus, ut Cypriis, & Phœnicibus, cæterisque civitatibus maritimis, naves longas imperaret, classemque, quâ proximâ æstate mare tueri posset, compararet; dato adjutore Pharnabazo, sicut ipse voluerat. Id ut Lacedæmoniis est nunciatum, non sine curâ rem administrârunt, quòd majus bellum imminere arbitrabantur, quàm si cum Persis solùm contenderent. Nam ducem fortem, & prudentem, regiis opibus præfuturum, ac secum dimicaturum videbant, quem neque consilio, neque copiis, superare possent. Hâc mente, magnam contrahunt classem: proficiscuntur Pisandro duce: Hos Conon, apud Cnidum adortus, magno prælio fugat, multas naves capit, complures deprimit. Quâ victoriâ non solùm Athenæ, sed etiam cuncta Græcia, quæ sub Lacedæmoniorum fuerat imperio, liberata est. Conon cum parte navium in patriam venit: muros dirutos utrosque Piræei & Athenarum, reficiendos curat; pecuniæque quinquaginta talenta, quæ à Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus suis donat.

*Upon this, being presented with great Presents, he was sent to the Sea, to order the Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other Nations on the Sea-Coast,* to furnish *Men of War, and provide a Fleet, with which he might secure the Sea next Summer*; *Pharnabazus being given him* as *his Assistant, accordingly as he himself had desired. As soon as this was told the Lacedemonians, they managed their Business not without Care, because they thought a greater War threatened* them, *than if they had to do with the Persians only. For they saw that a valiant and a wise General would command the King's Forces, and engage with them, whom they could outmatch neither in Conduct nor Troops. With this Consideration they get together a great Fleet,* and *go with Pisander* for *their Admiral. Conon setting upon them, near Cnidus, routs them in a great Fight, takes many Ships,* and *sinks many*; *by which Victory not only Athens, but likewise all Greece, which had been under the Yoke of the Lacedemonians, was delivered. Conon came with Part of his Ships into his native Country,* and *takes Care to have the Walls both of Pyræus and Athens repaired; and presents to his Countrymen fifty Talents of Money, which he had received from Pharnabazus.*

CAP. V. Accidit huic, quod cæteris mortalibus, ut inconsideratior in secundâ, quàm in adversâ esset fortunâ. Nam classe Peloponnesiorum

CHAP. V. *That happened to him, which* happens *to other Mortals, that he was more inconsiderate in his good, than in his bad Fortune. For having conquered the Fleet*

ſiorum devictâ, quum ultum ſe injurias patriæ putaret, plura concupivit, quàm efficere potuit. Neque tamen ea non pia & probanda fuerunt, quòd potiùs patriæ opes augeri, quàm regis, maluit. Nam quum magnam auctoritatem ſibi pugnâ illâ navali quam apud Cnidum fecerat, conſtituiſſet, non ſolùm inter barbaros, ſed etiam inter omnes Græciæ civitates, clam dare operam cœpit, ut Ioniam & Æoliam reſtitueret Athenienſibus. Id quum minus diligenter eſſet celatum, Tiribazus, qui Sardibus præerat, Cononem evocavit, ſimulans ad regem cum ſe mittere velle magnâ feſtina-

*Fleet of the Peloponneſians, when he thought he had revenged the Injuries* done *his Country, he aimed at more Things than he was able to accompliſh. Neither yet were not theſe Things * expreſſive of his Duty to his Country, and commendable; becauſe he choſe rather to have the Power of his Country, than of the King, advanced. For after he had eſtabliſhed to himſelf a great Authority by that Sea-fight, that he had fought at Cnidus, not only amongſt Foreigners, but amongſt all the States of Greece, he began to endeavour underhand to reſtore Ionia and Æolia to the Athenians. As that was not carefully concealed, Tiribazus, who was Governor of Sardis, ſent for Conon, pretending that*

* The Word *Pius* ſeems manifeſtly derived from the Greek ἤπιος, mild, gentle, kind, ſuch as a Man ought to be, in a diſtinguiſhing Manner, to his own Relations: Thence it was put to ſignify one that behaved towards ſuch, with the Regard and Affection that was due to them. As a dutiful Son is, as ſuch, properly called *Pius*; a Perſon likewiſe that carried himſelf with due Devotion or Submiſſion towards the Gods, with due Loyalty or Affection to his Prince or Country, was upon that Account denominated *Pius*, and the Virtue in all theſe Caſes called *Pietas*: But our Author talks here in the common Strain and Way of commending a Man for his Actions in Behalf of his Country, though without any Regard to Juſtice. It was a baſe Piece of Treachery in Conon to endeavour to debauch the Ionians and Æolians from their Allegiance, and far from being commendable. Had any body ſerved Auguſtus ſo, Nepos would, it is likely, have been forward enough to condemn him. But a very little Conſideration might have ſatisfied him, that what was criminal and villainous, when committed againſt an Emperour of Rome, was as certainly ſo, when committed againſt an Emperour of Perſia. This Attempt of Conon's was too groſs to admit of any Excuſe, much leſs does it deſerve the Commendation our Author beſtows upon it: And therefore herein I think he has betrayed his Want of Judgment.

festimatione. Hujus nuncio parens quum venisset, in vincula conjectus est, in quibus aliquandiu fuit. Nonnulli eum ad regem abductum, ibique periisse scriptum reliquerunt. Contra ea, Dinon historicus, cui nos plurimùm de Persicis rebus credimus, effugisse scripsit; illud addubitat, utrùm Tiribazo sciente, an imprudente sit factum.

*that he would send him to the King in great Haste. After he was come to him in Obedience to his Message, he was put under Confinement, in which he was for some Time. Some have left it on Record, that he was carried to the King, and there put to Death. On the other Hand, Dinon the Historian, whom we chiefly give Credit to, as to Persian Affairs, writes, that he made his Escape; but doubts whether it was done with the Knowledge of Tiribazus or not.*

X. DION,

## X.

## *DION*, Hipparini *Filius*, *Syracuſanus*.

### Cap. I.

DION, Hipparini filius, Syracuſanus, nobili genere natus, utràque implicatus tyrannide Dionyſiorum; namque ille ſuperior Ariſtomachen, ſororem Dionis, habuit in matrimonio: ex quâ duos filios, Hipparinum & Nyſæum, procreavit, totidemque filias Sophroſynem & Areten: quarum priorem Dionyſio filio, eidem cui regnum reliquit, nuptum dedit; alteram, Areten, Dioni. Dion autem præter nobilem propinquitatem, generoſamque majorum famam, multa alia à naturâ habuit bona: In his ingenium docile, come, aptum ad artes optimas; magnam corporis dignitatem, quæ non minimùm

## X.

## *DION*, *the Son of* Hipparinus, *the Syracuſan*.

### Chap. I.

*DION, the Son of Hipparinus, the Syracuſan, was born of a noble Family, and* * *allied to both the Dionyſius's; for the firſt of them had Ariſtomache, Dion's Siſter, in Marriage, by whom he had two Sons, Hipparinus and Nyſæus, and as many Daughters, Sophroſyne and Arete; the former of which he gave in Marriage to Dionyſius the Son, the ſame to whom he left his Kingdom; the other, Arete, to Dion. Dion, beſides this noble Alliance, and the generous Fame of his Anceſtors, had a great many other Advantages from Nature: Amongſt theſe a docible Genius, courteous, fit for the beſt Arts; great Handſomeneſs of Perſon, which does not a little recommend* a Man; *beſides great Riches left* him

* Either our Author has here expreſſed himſelf a little carelеſsly, or elſe the Reading, I think muſt be faulty; for to me, the Words do not ſeem to expreſs the Senſe, which, it is plain from the following Words, he intended.

mùm commendat: magnas præterea divitias à patre relictas, quas ipse tyranni muneribus auxerat. Erat intimus Dionysio priori, neque minùs propter mores quàm affinitatem. Namque, etsi Dionysii crudelitas ipsi displicebat, tamen salvum illum propter necessitudinem, magis etiam suorum causâ, esse studebat. Aderat in magnis rebus; ejusque consilio multùm movebatur, tyrannus nisi quâ in re major ipsius cupiditas intercesserat. Legationes verò omnes, quæ essent illustriores, per Dionem administrabantur; quas quidem ille diligenter obeundo, fideliter administrando, crudelissimum nomen tyranni suâ humanitate tegebat. Hunc à Dionysio missum Carthaginenses suspexerunt, ut neminem unquam Græcâ linguâ loquentem magis sint admirati.

him *by his Father, which he had increased by the Tyrant's Presents. He was intimate with the first Dionysius, no less for his good Behaviour, than his Relation* to him. *For although the Cruelty of Dionysius displeased him, yet he was desirous he should be secure, because of his Alliance* with him, *and more upon Account of his* Relations. *He was assisting* to him *in* all *his weighty Affairs; and the Tyrant was much swayed by his Advice, unless, in any Case, some violent Humour of his own interposed. But all the Embassies, that were extraordinary, were undertaken by Dion; by discharging which carefully, and managing faithfully, he covered the most cruel Name of the Tyrant under his own Humanity. The Carthaginians admired him* upon his *being sent* thither *by Dionysius, so as they never admired any body, that spoke the Greek Tongue, more.*

CAP. II. Neque verò hæc Dionysium fugiebant; nam quantò esset sibi ornamento, sentiebat. Quo fiebat, ut uni huic maximè indulgeret, neque eum secùs diligeret ac filium. Qui quidem, quum Platonem Tarentum venisse fama in Siciliam esset perlata, adolescenti negare non potuit, quin eum arcesseret, quum Dion ejus audiendi cupiditate flagraret. Dedit ergo huic

CHAP. II. *Nor indeed did these Things escape the* Notice of *Dionysius; for he was sensible how great an Ornament he was to him; from whence it was, that he indulged him alone very much, nor did he love him any otherwise, than as* his own Son. *Who too, when News was brought into Sicily, that Plato was come to Tarentum, could not deny the young Man, but sent for him, seeing Dion was inflamed with a Desire of hearing him. Wherefore he granted*

huic veniam, magnâque eum ambitione Syracusas perduxit. Quem Dion adeò admiratus est, atque adamavit, ut se totum ei traderet. Neque verò minùs Plato delectatus est Dione. Itaque, quum à Dionysio Tyranno crudeliter violatus esset, (quippe quem venundari jussisset) tamen eodem rediit, ejusdem Dionis precibus adductus. Interim in morbum incidit Dionysius; quo cùm graviter conflictaretur, quæsivit à medicis Dion, quemadmodum se haberet; simulque ab his petit, si fortè majore esset periculo, ut sibi faterentur: Nam velle se cum eo colloqui de partiendo regno, quòd sororis suæ filios ex illo natos partem regni putabat debere habere. Id medici non tacuerunt, & ad Dionysium filium sermonem retulerunt. Quo ille commotus, ne agendi cum eo esset Dioni potestas, patri soporem medicos dare coëgit. Hoc æger sumpto, somno sopitus, diem obiit supremum.

*granted him the Favour, and by great Importunity drew him to Syracuse. Whom Dion so much admired and loved, that he gave himself wholly up to him. Nor was Plato less pleased with Dion. Therefore though he was cruelly abused by Dionysius the Tyrant, (for he had ordered him to be sold) yet he returned to the same Place, being prevailed upon by the Entreaties of the same Dion. In the mean Time Dionysius fell into a Distemper, with which when he was grievously handled, Dion enquired of the Physicians, how he was; and at the same Time desired of them, if perhaps he was in great Danger, that they would confess it to him; for he had a Mind to talk with him about dividing the Kingdom, because he thought his Sister's Sons by him ought to have a Share of the Kingdom. The Physicians did not conceal that, and carried these Words to Dionysius the Son. At which being startled, that Dion might not have an Opportunity of talking with him, he forced the Physicians to give his Father a sleeping Dose. The sick* Prince *having taken this, being laid fast asleep* by it, *ended his last Day.*

Cap. III. Tale initium fuit Dionis & Dionysii simultatis; eaque multis rebus aucta est: Sed tamen primis temporibus, aliquandiu simulata inter eos amicitia mansit. Quum Dion non desisteret obsecrare Dionysium, ut Platonem Athenis

Chap. III. *Such was the Beginning of the Misunderstanding betwixt Dion and Dionysius; and that was increased by many Things: But yet at first, for some Time, a pretended Friendship continued betwixt them. And as Dion did not cease to beg of Dionysius, that he would send for*

thenis acceſſerit, & ejus conſiliis uteretur; ille, qui in aliquâ re vellet patrem imitari, morem ei geſſit; eodemque tempore Philiſtum hiſtoricum Syracuſas reduxit, hominem amicum non magis tyranno, quàm tyrannidi. Sed de hoc in eo meo libro plura ſunt expoſita qui de hiſtoricis conſcriptus eſt. Plato autem tantùm apud Dionyſium auctoritate potuit, valuitque eloquentiâ, ut ei perſuaſerit tyrannidis facere finem, libertatemque reddere Saracuſanis: à quâ voluntate Philiſti conſilio deterritus, aliquanto crudelior eſſe cœpit.

*Plato from Athens, and make uſe of his Advice; he, who had a Mind to imitate his Father in ſomething, gave him his Humour; and at the ſame Time brought back Philiſtus the Hiſtorian to Syracuſe, a Man not more a Friend to the Tyrant, than to Tyranny* itſelf. *But more has been ſaid about him, in that Book of mine which was written about the Hiſtorians. But Plato wrought ſo much upon Dionyſius by his Authority, and prevailed ſo by his Eloquence, that he perſuaded him to put an End to* his *Uſurpation, and to reſtore to the Syracuſans their Liberty; from which Intention being diſſuaded by the Counſel of Philiſtus, he began to be ſomething more cruel.*

CAP. IV. Qui quidem, quum à Dione ſe ſuperari videret ingenio, auctoritate, amore populi; veriens ne, ſi eum ſecum haberet, aliquam occaſionem ſui daret opprimendi: navem ei triremem dedit, quâ Corinthum deveheretur; oſtendens ſe id utriuſque facere cauſâ, ne, quum inter ſe timerent, alteruter alterum præoccuparet. Id quum factum multi indignarentur, magnæque eſſet invidiæ tyranno, Dionyſius omnia, quæ moveri pote-

CHAP. IV. *Who when he ſaw himſelf excelled by Dion in Parts, Authority,* and *Love of the People, fearing leſt, if he kept him with him, he ſhould give* him *ſome Opportunity of ruining him; he gave him a Ship with three Banks of Oars, wherein he might go to* * *Corinth; declaring, he did it upon both their Accounts, leſt, ſince they were jealous of one another, one of them ſhould trepan the other. As many People were angry at the Fact, and it was to the Tyrant* an Occaſion *of great* † *Hatred, Dionyſius put on board* ſome

* Corinth was a famous City in the Entrance of Peloponneſus from Achaia.

† I have ſeveral Times above tranſlated *invidia* by *Hatred*; for ſo indeed it commonly ſignifies, a popular Odium or Hatred; and that Senſe

poterant Dionis, in naves imposuit, ad eumque misit. Sic enim existimari volebat, id se non odio hominis, sed suæ salutis fecisse causâ. Postea verò quàm audivit eum in Peloponneso manum comparare, sibique bellum facere conari, Aieten Dionis uxorem alii nuptum dedit, filiumque ejus sic educari jussit, ut indulgendo, turpissimis imbueretur cupiditatibus. Nam puero, priusquam pubes esset, scorta adducebantur: vino epulisque obruebatur, neque ullum tempus sobrio relinquebatur. Is usque eò vitæ statum commutatum ferre non potuit, postquam in patriam rediit pater (namque appositi erant custodes, qui eum à pristino victu deducerent) ut se è superiore parte ædium dejecerit, atque ita interierit. Sed illuc revertor.

some *Ships all the* Substance *of Dion that could be removed, and sent it to him. For he had a Mind it should be thought, that he had done that, not out of a Hatred of the Man, but upon Account of his own Security. But after he heard that he was levying Troops in Peloponnesus, and endeavouring to make War upon him, he gave Arete the Wife of Dion in Marriage to another, and ordered his Son to be educated so, that he might, by indulging* him, *be tainted with the most filthy Lusts. For* * *Whores were brought him,* when but *a Boy, before he was of Age: He was perfectly overwhelmed with Wine and good Cheer, nor was any Time left him* to be *sober. He could not bear his State of Life* when *changed, to that Degree, that after his Father returned into his Country, (for Keepers were set over him, to reclaim him from his former Way of Life) he threw himself from the upper Part of a House, and so died. But* I *return.*

Cap. V. Postquam Corinthum pervenit Dion, & eòdem

Chap. V. *After Dion came to Corinth, and Heraclides fled to the*

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Sense it visibly has here. This little Remark is designed for the Benefit of such Smatterers in the Latin Tongue as may be more disposed to cavil than to learn. I warn them once for all, to have a Care of meddling, for fear of burning their Fingers.

* The Tyrant seems to have been of Opinion, that to debauch him was the greatest Mischief he could do him; and so far he was undoubtedly right; because it was better, to be sure, to be hanged, or to be dispatched any Way, at once, than to lead a Life of Lewdness and Debauchery. But what a comfortable Opinion must the Brute have had of himself in the mean Time, who was as lewd as any Body?

eòdem perfugit Heraclides, ab eodem expulsus Dionysio, qui præfectus fuerat equitum; omni ratione bellum comparare cœperunt: sed non multùm proficiebant, quòd multorum annorum tyrannis magnarum opum putabatur; quam ob causam pauci ad societatem periculi perducebantur. Sed Dion, fretus non tam suis copiis, quàm odio tyranni, maximo animo, duabus onerariis navibus, quinquaginta annorum imperium, munitum quingentis longis navibus, decem equitum, centum peditum millibus, profectus oppugnatum; quod omnibus gentibus admirabile est visum, adeò facilè perculit, ut post diem tertium quàm Siciliam attigerat, Syracusas introierit. Ex quo intelligi potest, nullum esse imperium tutum, nisi benevolentiâ munitum. Eo tempore aberat Dionysius, & in Italiâ classem operiebatur, adversariorum ratus neminem sine magnis copiis ad se venturum: Quæ res eum fefellit; nam Dion iis ipsis, qui sub adversarii fuerant potestate, regios spiritus repressit, totiusque ejus partis Siciliæ potitus est, quæ sub Dionysii potestate fuerat; parique modo urbis Syracusarum, præter arcem & insulam adjunctam oppido; eòque rem perduxit, ut talibus pactionibus pacem tyrannus facere vellet:

*the same Place, being banished by the same Dionysius, who had been Commander of the Horse, they began to levy War by all* Manner of *Means: But they advanced but little, because an Usurpation of many Years* Continuance *was thought* to be *of great Strength; for which Reason few were brought to a Share of the Danger. But Dion, trusting not so much to his Troops, as the Hatred of the Tyrant, going to attack a Government of fifty Years* Duration, *defended by five hundred Men of War, ten thousand Horse, and a hundred thousand Foot, with the greatest Courage, in two Ships of Burden only; what appeared wonderful to all Nations, he so easily overthrew it, that he entered Syracuse the third Day after he had reached Sicily. From which it may be understood, that no Government is safe unless secured by the Affection* of the Subjects. *At that Time Dionysius was absent, and waiting for his Fleet in Italy, supposing that none of his Enemies would come against him without a great Force: Which Thing deceived him; for Dion curbed the Tyrant's Pride with those very Men that had been under the Dominion of his Adversary, and carried all that Part of Sicily, which had been under the Government of Dionysius: And in like Manner the City of Syracuse, except the Citadel, and the Island joining upon the Town; and brought the Matter to that, that the Tyrant was willing to make Peace upon these Terms.*

vellet: Siciliam Dion obtineret, Italiam Dionyſius, Syracuſas Apollocrates, cui maximam fidem uni habebat Dion.

*Terms:* That *Dion ſhould have Sicily, Dionyſius Italy*, and *Apollocrates Syracuſe, in whom alone Dion had the greateſt Confidence.*

Cap. VI. Has tam proſperas, tamque inopinitas res conſecuta eſt ſubita commutatio; quòd fortuna ſuâ mobilitate, quem paulò antè extulerat, demergere eſt adorta. Primùm in filio, de quo commemoravi ſuprà, ſuam vim exercuit. Nam quum uxorem reduxiſſet, quæ alii fuerat tradita, filiumque vellet revocare ad virtutem à perditâ luxuriâ, accepit graviſſimum parens vulnus morte filii: deinde orta diſſenſio eſt inter eum & Heraclidem: qui Dioni principatum non concedens, factionem comparavit: Neque enim minùs valebat apud optimates, quorum conſenſu præerat claſſi, quum Dion exercitum pedeſtrem teneret. Non tulit hoc animo æquo Dion, & verſum illum Homeri retulit ex ſecundâ rhapſodiâ, in quo hæc ſententia

Chap. VI. *A ſudden Change followed this mighty and unexpected Succeſs; becauſe Fortune attempted by her Fickleneſs to ſink him whom ſhe had raiſed before. She firſt of all exerted her Violence upon his Son, of whom I have made mention above; for, after he had taken his Wife again, which had been given to another, and was deſirous to recover his Son to Virtue, from a* State *of deſperate Luxury, he received* as *a Father a grievous Affliction in the Death of his Son. After that, a Difference aroſe betwixt him and Heraclides; who, not yielding the Superiority to Dion, formed a Party: For he was no leſs powerful amongſt the* * *Quality, by whoſe Conſent he commanded the Fleet, whilſt Dion had the Land Army. Dion could not bear this with a patient Mind, and repeated that* † *Verſe of Homer out of the ſecond Rhapſody, in which is this Sentence,*

* In the Commonwealth of Greece, and ſo of Sicily, which was peopled from Greece, there were commonly two Factions; one, of thoſe that were for an abſolute Democracy, and the other, of ſuch as were for a Sort of an Ariſtocracy, or for taking the Power out of the Hands of the Vulgar. Of the former Party were the common People, the Peaſants, Artiſans and Tradeſmen chiefly: In the latter were generally the Gentry, and People of better Faſhion, which were therefore called *Optimates*.

† It is plain by this, and what follows, that Dion had no Intention of reſtoring the Syracuſans to their Liberty, but only that they ſhould change their Maſter.

sententia est: *Non posse beni geri rempublicam multorum imperiis.* Quod dictum magna invidia consecuta est: Namque aperuisse videbatur, se omnia in suâ potestate esse velle. Hanc ille non lenire obsequio, sed acerbitate opprimere studuit; Heraclidemque, quum Syracusas venisset, interficiendum curavit.

*tence*, That a Commonwealth could not be well managed by the Government of many. *Which Saying a mighty Odium followed: For he seemed to have discovered, that he intended, that all Things should be under his Authority. This he did not endeavour to allay by Compliance, but to suppress by Severity, and took Care to have Heraclides slain, when he came to Syracuse.*

CAP. VII. Quod factum omnibus maximum timorem injecit; nemo enim illo interfecto se tutum putabat. Ille autem, adversario remoto, licentiùs eorum bona, quos sciebat adversus se sensisse militibus dispertivit. Quibus divisis, quum quotidiani maximi fierent sumtus celeriter pecunia deesse cœpit: Neque, quò manus porrigeret, suppetebat, nisi in amicorum possessiones. Id ejusmodi erat, ut quum milites reconciliâsset, amitteret optimates. Quarum rerum curâ frangebatur; & insuetus malè audiendi, non æquo animo ferebat, de se ab iis malè existimari, quorum paulò antè in cœlum fuerat elatus laudibus. Vulgus autem, offensâ in eum militum voluntate, liberiùs loquebatur, & tyrannum non ferendum dictitabat.

CHAP. VII. *Which Action struck a mighty Terror into every Body; for nobody thought himself safe, after he was slain. But he, his Enemy being taken off, divided their Estates whom he knew to have been in these Sentiments against him, to his Soldiers very licentiously. Which being distributed, as* his *daily Expences were very great, Money quickly began to fail* him: *Nor was there any Thing to which he could reach his Hands, but the Possessions of his Friends: That was such, that whilst he gained the Soldiery, he lost the better Party. With the Care of which Things he was dispirited; and being unaccustomed to hear himself ill spoken of, he bore it not with an easy Mind, that he should be ill thought of by those, by whose Praises he had been exalted to Heaven a little before. But the common People, the Minds of the Soldiers being offended at him, spoke more freely, and frequently said that the Tyrant was not to be endured.*

CAP. CHAP.

Cap. VIII. Hæc ille intuens, quum, quemadmodum ſedaret, neſciret, & quorſum evaderet, timeret; Callicrates quidam, civis Athenienſis, qui ſimul cum eo ex Peloponneſo in Siciliam venerat, homo & callidus, & ad fraudem acutus, ſine ullâ religione ac fide, adit ad Dionem, & ait eum in magno periculo eſſe propter offenſionem populi, & odium militum: quod nullo modo evitare poſſet, niſi alicui ſuorum negotium daret, qui ſe ſimularet illi inimicum: quem ſi inveniſſet idoneum, facilè omnium animos cogniturum, adverſarioſque ſublaturum, quòd inimici ejus diſſidenti ſuos ſenſus aperturi forent. Tali conſilio probato, excipit has partes ipſe Callicrates, & ſe armat imprudentiâ Dionis. Ad eum ſinterficiendum ſocios conquirit: adverſarios ejus convenit: conjurationem confirmat. Res, multis conſciis, quæ gererentur, elata, refertur ad Ariſtomachen ſororem Dionis, uxoremque Areten. Illæ timore perterritæ conveniunt, cujus de periculo timebant. At ille negat à Callicrate fieri ſibi inſidias: ſed illa, quæ agerentur, fieri præcepto ſuo. Mulieres nihilo ſecùs Callicratem in ædem Proſerpinæ deducunt, ac jurare cogunt, nihil ab illo periculi ſore Dioni. Ille hâc religione non modò

Chap. VIII. *He ſeeing theſe Things, as he knew not how to put a Stop to them, and was afraid what* the Matter *would come to; one Callicrates, a Citizen of Athens, who had come together with him from Peloponneſus into Sicily, a ſubtle Fellow, and acute* enough *for the* Management of any *fraudulent Deſign, without any Religion and Honour, goes to Dion, and tells him, that he was in great Danger, becauſe of the Diſaffection of the People, and the Hatred of the Soldiers, which he could no Way avoid, unleſs he gave a Commiſſion to ſome of his Friends, to pretend himſelf an Enemy to him: If he could but find one proper* to his Purpoſe, *he might eaſily know the Minds of them all, and take off his Adverſaries, becauſe his Enemies would diſcover their Sentiments to one diſaffected to him. This Counſel being approved, Callicrates himſelf undertakes this Buſineſs, and arms himſelf by the Imprudence of Dion: He ſeeks Accomplices to kill him; he gives a Meeting to his Enemies, and completely forms the Conſpiracy* againſt him. *The Matter which was carrying on, many being privy to it, being blabbed, it is carried to Ariſtomache the Siſter of Dion, and his Wife Arete. They, being alarmed with Fear, go to him, for whoſe Danger they were concerned. But he denies that any Plot was formed againſt him by Callicrates; but that theſe Things, which were doing, were*

modò ab incepto non deterritus, ſed ad maturandum concitatus eſt, verens ne priùs conſilium aperiretur ſuum, quàm conata perfeciſſet.

*done by his Order. The Women notwithſtanding bring Callicrates into the Temple of Proſerpine, and oblige him to ſwear, that there ſhould be no Danger to Dion from him. He not only was not deterred from his Undertaking by this ſacred Obligation, but was puſhed on to haſten* the Execution, *fearing leſt his Deſign ſhould be diſcovered, before he could accompliſh what he attempted.*

CAP. IX. Hâc mente, proximo die feſto, quum à conventu ſe remotum Dion domi teneret, atque in conclavi edito recubuiſſet, conſciis loca munitiora oppidi tradidit: domum cuſtodibus ſepſit, à foribus qui non diſcederent, certos præfecit; navem triremem armatis ornat, Philocratique fratri ſuo tradit, eamque in portu agitari jubet, ut ſi exercere remiges vellet; cogitans, ſi fortè conſiliis obſtitiſſet fortuna, ut haberet, quò fugeret ad ſalutem. Suorum autem è numero Zacynthios adoleſcentes quoſdam elegit, cum audaciſſimos, tum viribus maximis; hiſque dat negotium, ut ad Dionem eant inermes, ſic ut conveniendi ejus gratiâ viderentur venire. Hi, propter notitiam, ſunt intromiſſi. At illi, ut limen ejus intrârunt, foribus obſeratis, in lecto cubantem invadunt, colligant: ſit

CHAP. IX. *With this Deſign, the next Holy-day, whilſt Dion kept himſelf retired,* far *from the Aſſembly of the People, and was laid down in an upper Room, he delivered to* ſome of *his Accomplices* all the *ſtrong Parts of the Town; he ſurrounded the Houſe with Guards; he placed truſty Men that ſhould not depart from the Door; he mans a Ship with three Banks of Oars, and delivers it to his Brother Philocrates, and orders it to be rowed about in the Harbour, as if he had a Mind to exerciſe the Rowers; intending, if Fortune obſtructed his Deſign, to have this to fly to for Security. He likewiſe choſe out of the Number of his Men ſome * Zacynthian Youths, both very bold, and of very great Strength. And to theſe he gives Orders, to go to Dion unarmed, as if they ſeemed to come upon the Account of ſpeaking with him. Theſe, by Reaſon of their Acquaintance* with

* Zacynthus is an Iſland on the Weſtern Coaſt of Peloponneſus.

fit ſtrepitus, adeò ut exaudiri poſſit foris. Hic, ſicut antè ſæpe dictum eſt, quàm inviſa ſit ſingularis potentia, & miſeranda vita, qui ſe metui quàm amari malunt, cuivis facilè intellectu fuit. Namque illi ipſi cuſtodes, ſi propitiâ fuiſſent voluntate, foribus effractis, ſervare eum potuiſſent, quòd illi inermes telum foris flagitantes, vivum tenebant. Cui quum ſuccurreret nemo, Lyco quidam Syracuſanus per feneſtras gladium dedit, quo Dion interfectus eſt.

with him, *were let in: but they, as ſoon as they had entered his Door, bolting it, ſeize him lying on his Bed*, and *bind him. A Noiſe is made, ſo that it might be heard without Doors. Here, as has been often ſaid before, it was eaſy to be underſtood by any Body, how odious arbitrary Power is, and how miſerable the Life* of thoſe, *who chooſe rather to be feared than loved. For thoſe very Guards, if they had been* Men *of a favourable Diſpoſition* towards him, *by breaking the Door, might have ſaved him, becauſe they being unarmed held him alive, calling* to thoſe *without for a Weapon; whom whilſt nobody relieved, one Lyco a Syracuſan gave them a Sword through the Window, with which Dion was ſlain.*

Cap. X. Confectâ cæde, quum multitudo viſendi gratiâ introiiſſet, nonnulli ab inſciis pro noxiis conciduntur. Nam celeri rumore dilato, Dioni vim allatam, multi concurrerant quibus tale facinus diſplicebat. Hi, falsâ ſuſpicione ducti, immerentes inermes ut ſceleratos occidunt. Hujus de morte ut palam factum eſt, mirabiliter vulgi immutata eſt voluntas. Nam qui vivum eum tyrannum vocitârant, eundem liberatorem patriæ tyrannique expulſorem prædicabant. Sic ſubitò miſericordia odio ſucceſſerat, ut eum ſuo ſanguine, ſi poſſent, ab Acheronte cuperent

Chap. X. *After the Murder was committed, when the People come in to ſee him, ſome are ſlain by* thoſe that were *ignorant* of the Matter *for the guilty. For a ſpeedy Report being ſpread, that Violence had been offered to Dion, many had run together, whom this Fact diſpleaſed. Theſe, moved by a falſe Suſpicion, kill the innocent and unarmed, as if* they had been *guilty. As ſoon as publick* Notice *had been given of his Death, the Mind of the common People was wonderfully changed. For they who had called him,* when *alive, a Tyrant, called the ſame Man the Deliverer of his Country, and the Baniſher of a Tyrant. Thus ſuddenly had Pity ſucceeded*

cuperent redimere. Itaque in urbe, celeberrimo loco, elatus publicè, ſepulchri monumento donatus eſt. Diem obiit circiter annos quinquaginta quinque natus; quartum poſt annum, quàm ex Peloponneſo in Siciliam redierat.

*their Hatred, that they deſired to redeem him with their own Blood from Hell, if they could. Wherefore being buried at the publick Expence in the moſt frequented Part of the City, he was honoured with a Monument of a Sepulchre. He died about fifty-five Years old; the fourth Year after he had returned out of Peloponneſus into Sicily.*

M. IPHICRATES,

XI.

## IPHICRATES, Athenienſis.

CAP. I.

IPHICRATES, Athenienſis, non tam genere aut magnitudine rerum geſtarum, quàm diſciplinâ militari nobilitatus eſt. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non ſolùm ætatis ſuæ cum primis compararetur, ſed ne de majoribus natu quidem quiſquam anteponeretur. Multùm verò in bello verſatus, ſæpe exercitibus præfuit: nullâ quam culpâ malè rem geſſit; ſemper conſilio vicit, tantùmque eo valuit, ut multa in re militari partim nova attulerit, partim meliora fecerit. Namque ille pedeſtria arma mutavit: quum, ante illum imperatorem maximis clypeis, brevibuſque haſtis minutis gladiis uterentur; ille, è contrario, Peltam pro Parmâ fecit, à quo poſtea Peltaſtæ pedites appellabantur, ut ad motus concurſuſque eſſent leviores. Haſtæ modum duplicavit, gladios longiores fecit. Idem genus loricarum mutavit, & pro ferreis atque æneis lineas dedit.

XI.

## IPHICRATES, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

*IPHICRATES, the Athenian, was not ſo famous for his Family, or the Greatneſs of the Things performed* by him, *as his military Diſcipline. For he was ſuch a General, that he might not only be compared with the greateſt of his Age, but none of the old Generals could indeed be preferred before him. But having been much in War, he oftentimes commanded Armies: He never managed his Buſineſs ill by* his own *Fault; he always excelled in Contrivance, and was ſo able that Way, that he partly invented many new Things in the military Art, partly made Things better. For he changed the Foot Arms: When, before he* was *General, they made uſe of very great Shields, ſhort Spears, and little Swords; he, on the contrary, made the Pelta inſtead of the Parma, from which the Foot were afterwards called Peltaſtæ, that they might be nimbler for Motion and engaging. He doubled the Length of the Spear,* and *made the Swords longer. The ſame Man changed the Kind of* their *Coats of Mail*

dit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit; nam pondere detracto, quod æquè corpus tegeret, & leve esset, curavit.

*Mail and gave* them *Linen ones instead of Iron and Brazen ones; by which Act he rendered the Soldiers more light; for the Weight* of their Coats *being lessened, he provided what would equally secure the Body, and was light.*

CAP. II. Bellum cum Thracibus gessit; Seuthen, socium Athenienſium, in regnum restituit. Apud Corinthum tantâ severitate exercitui præfuit, ut nullæ unquam in Græciâ, neque exercitationes copiæ, neque magis dicto audientes fuerint duci; in eamque consuetudinem adduxit, ut quum prælii signum ab imperatore esset datum, sine ducis operâ sic ordinatæ consisterent, ut singuli à peritissimo imperatore dispositi viderentur. Hoc exercitu Moram Lacedæmoniorum intercepit; quod maximè totâ celebratum est Græciâ. Iterum eodem bello omnes copias eorum fugavit; quo facto magnam adeptus est gloriam. Quum Artaxerxes Ægyptio regi bellum inferre voluisset, Iphicratem ab Athenienſibus petivit ducem, quem præficeret exercitui conductitio, cujus numerus duodecim millium fuit. Quem quidem sic omni disciplinâ militari erudivit,

CHAP. II. *He carried on a War with the Thracians; restored Seuthes, the Ally of the Athenians, to his Kingdom. He commanded the Army at Corinth with so much Strictness, that no Troops were ever better exercised in Greece, or more obedient to their General, and he brought them to that Custom, that when the Signal of Battle was given by the General, they would stand so regularly drawn up, that they each of them seemed* to have been *posted by the most skilful Commander. With this Army he cut off the* * *Mora of the Lacedemonians; which was mightily celebrated throughout all Greece. He routed all their Forces again in the same War; by which Action he acquired great Glory. When Artaxerxes was resolved to make War upon the King of Egypt, he desired Iphicrates* for his *General of the Athenians, that he might place him at the Head of his Army of Mercenaries, the Number of which was twelve Thousand; which indeed he so instructed in all military Discipline, that as formerly*

* A choice Body of Men among the Lacedemonians, concerning the Number of which Authors are not agreed, some making them to be five Hundred, some six, and some eight.

vit, ut quemadmodum quondam Fabiani, milites Romani appellati sunt, sic Iphicratenses apud Græcos in summâ laude fuerint. Idem subsidio Lacedæmoniis profectus, Epaminondæ retardavit impetum: Nam nisi ejus adventus appropinquâsset, non priùs Thebani Spartâ abscessissent, quàm captam incendio delêssent.

*formerly the Roman Soldiers were called * Fabians, so the Iphicratensians among the Greeks were in the highest Reputation. The same* Man, *going to the Relief of the Lacedemonians, stopped the Progress of Epaminondas; for unless his Coming had been near at hand, the Thebans would not have departed from Sparta, before they had taken* and *destroyed it by Fire.*

Cap. III. Fuit autem & animo magno & corpore, imperatoriâque formâ, ut ipso aspectu cuivis injiceret admirationem sui: sed in labore remissus nimis, parumque patiens, ut Theopompus memoriæ prodidit: bonus verò civis, fideque magnâ; quod cùm in aliis rebus declaraverit, tum maximè in Amyntæ Macedonis liberis tuendis. Namque Eurydice mater Perdiccæ & Philippi, cum his duobus liberis, Amyntâ mortuo, ad Iphicratem confugit, ejusque opibus defensa est. Vixit ad senectutem, placatis in se suorum civium animis. Causam capitis semel dixit bello sociali simul cum Timotheo, eoque judicio est absolutus.

Chap. III. *He was too a Man of a great Mind and Body, and the Appearance of a General, that by his very Aspect he would have struck any one with Admiration, but in Application to Business too remiss, and little able to endure Hardship, as Theopompus has left upon Record; but a good Citizen, and of great Honour: which he shewed both in other Things, and especially in protecting the Children of Amyntas the Macedonian: For Eurydice the Mother of Perdiccas and Philip, with those two Boys,* after *Amyntas* was *dead, fled to Iphicrates, and was secured by his Power. He lived to* a good *old Age, with the Minds of his Countrymen well affected towards him. Once he was tried for his Life, in the Social*

* If the Roman Soldiers were used to be called Fabians, which is an Account given by none but our Author, that I know of, it was occasioned by the Gallantry of the Fabian Family, that undertook to manage the War against the Veientes by themselves, and were cut off 300 of them in one Battle, about 475 Years before Christ.

absolutus. Mnesthea filium reliquit ex Thresâ natum, Coti regis filiâ. Is quum interrogaretur, utrum pluris patrem matremve faceret; Matrem, inquit. Id quum omnibus mirum videretur; At ille, Meritò, inquit, facio; nam pater, quantùm in se fuit, Thracem me genuit; contrà, mater Athenienſem.

* *Social War, together with Timothy, and was acquitted in that Trial. He left a Son*, by Name *Mneſtheus, born of a Thracian* Lady, *the Daughter of King Cotus. He being aſked, Whether he valued his Father or his Mother more, ſaid, His Mother: As that appeared ſtrange to every Body; But, ſays he, I do it for good Reaſon; for my Father, as much as lay in him, begot me a Thracian; on the other hand, my Mother* made *me an Athenian*, as much as lay in her.

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* This was carried on by the Byzantians, Coans, Chians, Rhodians, and Mauſolus Prince of Caria, againſt the Athenians, about 360 Years before Chriſt.

XII. *CHABRIAS,*

XII.

## CHABRIAS, Athenienſis.

CAP. I.

CHABRIAS Athenienſis. Hic quoquè in ſummis habitus eſt ducibus, reſque multas memoriâ dignas geſſit. Sed ex his elucet maximè inventum ejus in prælio quod apud Thebas fecit, quum Bœotiis ſubſidio veniſſet. Namque in eo, victoriâ fidente ſummo duce Ageſilao, fugatis jam ab eo conductitiis catervis, reliquam phalangem loco vetuit cedere; obnixoque genu ſcuto, projectàque haſtâ, impetum excipere hoſtium docuit. Id novum Ageſilaus intuens progredi non eſt auſus, ſuoſque jam incurrentes tubâ revocavit. Hoc uſque eò in Græciâ famâ celebratum eſt, ut illo ſtatu Chabrias ſibi ſtatuam fieri voluerit, quæ publicè ei ab Athenienſibus in foro conſtituta

XII.

## CHABRIAS, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

*CHABRIAS the Athenian. He too was reckoned amongſt the greateſt Generals, and performed many Things worthy of Memory. But of theſe, his Invention in the Battle which he fought at Thebes, when he went to the Relief of the Bœotians, is the moſt famous. For in that* Battle, *that great Commander Ageſilaus making himſelf ſure of the Victory, the hired Troops being now routed by him, he forbad the reſt of the* * *Phalanx to quit their Ground; and taught them to receive the Enemy's Attack, with their Knee reſted againſt their Shield, and their Spear held out. Ageſilaus, obſerving that new* Contrivance, *durſt not advance, and called off his* Men *now ruſhing forward by* Sound of *Trumpet. This was ſo much celebrated by Fame in Greece, that Chabrias had*

P *a*

* Phalanx properly ſignifies a Body of Macedonian Foot, ſixteen Thouſand in Number, drawn up in very cloſe Order, armed with Shield and Spear. But the Word was uſed at laſt to ſignify any Body of Foot in cloſe Array, as it is here.

ſtituta eſt. Ex quo factum eſt, ut poſtea athletæ, cæterique artifices, his ſtatibus in ſtatuis ponendis uterentur, in quibus victoriam eſſent adepti.

*a Fanty* to have *the Statue made for him in that Poſture, which was erected for him at the publick Charge by the Athenians in the Forum. From whence it was, that afterwards Wreſtlers, and other Artiſts, in the erecting of their Statues, made uſe of thoſe Poſtures in which they had gotten a Victory.*

CAP. II. Chabrias autem multa in Europâ bella adminiſtravit, quum dux Athenienſium eſſet: multa in Ægypto ſuâ ſponte geſſit; nam Nectanebum adjutum profectus, regnum ei conſtituit. Fecit idem Cypri; ſed publicè ab Athenienſibus Evagoræ adjutor datus; neque priùs inde deceſſit, quàm totam inſulam bello devinceret: quâ ex re Athenienſes magnam gloriam ſunt adepti. Interim bellum inter Ægyptios & Perſas conflatum eſt: & Athenienſes cum Artaxerxe ſocietatem habebant; Lacedæmonii cum Ægyptiis, à quibus magnas prædas Ageſilaus rex eorum faciebat. Id intuens Chabrias, quum in re nullâ Ageſilao cederet, ſuâ ſponte eos adjutum profectus, Ægyptiæ claſſi præfuit, pedeſtribus copiis Ageſilaus.

CHAP. II. *Chabrias likewiſe carried on many Wars in Europe, when he was General of the Athenians. He carried on many in Egypt of his own Accord; for going to aſſiſt Nectanebus, he ſecured his Kingdom to him. He did the ſame at Cyprus; but being given by the Government of the Athenians as an Aſſiſtant to Evagoras; nor did he depart from thence, before he had conquered the whole Iſland in the War: From which Thing the Athenians reaped a great deal of Glory. In the mean Time a War was commenced betwixt the Egyptians and the Perſians; and the Athenians had an Alliance with Artaxerxes; the Lacedemonians with the Egyptians, from whom Ageſilaus their King got Abundance of Plunder. Chabrias ſeeing that, as he yielded in nothing to Ageſilaus, going of his own Accord to aſſiſt them, commanded the Egyptian Fleet, Ageſilaus the Land Forces.*

CAP. III. Tum præfecti regis Perſiæ legatos miſerunt Athenas, queſtum, quòd Chabrias adverſum regem bellum gereret cum Ægyptiis. Atheni-

CHAP. III. *Upon that, the King of Perſia's Commanders ſent Meſſengers to Athens, to complain, that Chabrias made War with the Egyptians againſt the King*

Athenienſes diem certam Chabriæ præſtiterunt, quam ante, domum niſi rediſſet capitis ſe illum damnaturos denunciârunt. Hoc ille nuncio Athenas rediit, neque ibi diutiùs eſt moratus, quàm fuit neceſſe. Non enim libenter erat ante oculos civium ſuorum, quòd & vivebat lautè, & indulgebat ſibi liberaliùs, quàm ut invidiam vulgi poſſet effugere. Eſt enim hoc commune vitium in magnis liberiſque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes ſit, & libenter de iis detrahant, quos eminere videant altiùs: neque animo æquo pauperes alienam opulentium intuentur fortunam. Itaque Chabrias, quoad ei licebat, plurimùm aberat. Neque verò ſolus ille aberat Athenis libenter, ſed omnes ferè principes fecerunt idem; quòd tantùm ſe ab invidiâ putabant futuros, quantùm à conſpectu ſuorum receſſiſſent. Itaque Conon plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thraciâ, Timotheus Leſbi, Chares in Sigæo. Diſſimilis quidem Chares horum & factis & moribus; ſed tamen Athenis & honoratus & potens.

*King. The Athenians fixed Chabrias a certain Day, before which if he did not return home, they declared they would condemn him to die. Upon this Meſſage he returned to Athens, nor did he ſtay there longer than was neceſſary. For he was not very willingly under the Eyes of his Countrymen, becauſe he both lived very handſomely, and indulged himſelf more freely, than that he could* poſſibly *eſcape the Odium of the Vulgar: For this is a common Fault in great and free States, that popular Hatred is the Attendant of Glory; and they willingly take from thoſe whom they ſee tower above* other People; *nor do the Poor look upon the Fortune of the Wealthy with an eaſy Mind: Wherefore Chabrias, as far as was poſſible for him, was very much away. Nor was he alone gladly abſent from Athens, but almoſt all the great Men did the ſame; becauſe they thought they ſhould be juſt ſo far* removed *from popular Hatred as they retired from the Sight of their* Countrymen. *Wherefore Conon lived very much at Cyprus, Iphicrates in Thrace, Timotheus at Leſbos, Chares in* * *Sigeum. Chares* was *unlike them indeed, both in his Actions and Manners, but yet* he was *both honoured and powerful at Athens.*



* A Town of Troas near the Helleſpont.

CAP. IV. Chabrias autem perìit bello ſociali, tali modo. Oppugnabant Athenienſes Chium: erat in claſſe Chabrias privatus, ſed omnes, qui in magiſtratu erant, auctoritate anteibat: eumque magis milites, quàm qui præerant, aſpiciebant: quæ res ei maturavit mortem; nam dum primus ſtudet portum intrare, & gubernatorem jubet eò dirigere navem, ipſe ſibi perniciei fuit. Quum enim eò penetrâſſet, cæteræ non ſunt ſecutæ. Quo facto circumfuſus hoſtium concurſu, quum fortiſſimè pugnaret, navis roſtro percuſſa, cœpit ſidere. Hinc quum refugere poſſet, ſi in mare dejeciſſet; quod ſuberat claſſis Athenienſium, quæ exciperet natantem; perire maluit, quàm, armis abjectis, navem relinquere, in quâ fuerat vectus. Id cæteri facere noluerunt, qui nando in tutum pervenerunt. At ille, præſtare honeſtam mortem exiſtimans turpi vitæ, cominus pugnans telis hoſtium interfectus eſt.

CHAP. IV. *Chabrias loſt his Life in the Social War, in this Manner. The Athenians were aſſaulting* * *Chius: Chabrias was on board the Fleet without any Command, but he exceeded all thoſe that were in Commiſſion, in Authority; and the Soldiers more regarded him, than thoſe that commanded them: Which Thing haſtened his Death for him: For whilſt he endeavours to enter the Harbour firſt, and orders the Maſter to ſteer the Ship thither, he was his own Ruin; for after he had made his Way into it, the reſt did not follow. Upon which, being ſurrounded by a Concourſe of the Enemy, whilſt he fought very bravely, his Ship, being ſtruck with a* † *Roſtrum, began to ſink. Though he might have eſcaped from thence, if he would have thrown himſelf into the Sea, becauſe the Fleet of the Athenians was at hand, to have taken him up as he ſwam; he choſe rather to periſh, than throwing away his Arms, to quit the Ship in which he had ſailed. The reſt would not do that, who came off by ſwimming. But he, thinking an honourable Death better than a ſcandalous Life, was ſlain with the Enemies Weapons, fighting hand to hand with them.*

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* An Iſland on the Egean Sea, on the Coaſt of Ionia.

† I have uſed the Latin Word, becauſe we have none in our Language proper for the Purpoſe. It is here put for a ſtrong, ſharp Iron Spike, with which the Prows of the *Longæ Naves*, or Men of War, were armed, in order to ſink one another in Sea-Fights.

## XIII.

## *TIMOTHEUS*, Cononis *filius*, *Athenienſis*.

### Cap. I.

TIMOTHEUS, Cononis filius, Athenienſis. Hic à patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim diſertus, impiger, laborioſus, rei militaris peritus, neque minùs civitatis regendæ. Multa hujus ſunt præclarè facta, ſed hæc maximè illuſtria. Olynthios & Byzantios bello ſubegit: Samum cepit, in quâ oppugnandâ, ſuperiori bello, Athenienſes mille & ducenta talenta conſumpſerant. Hanc ille ſine ullâ publicâ impensâ populo reſtituit. Adverſus Cotyn bella geſſit, ab eoque mille & ducenta talenta prædæ in publicum detulit. Cyzicum obſidione liberavit. Ariobarzani ſimul cum Ageſilao auxilio profectus eſt: à quo, quum Laco pecuniam numeratum accepiſſet, ille cives

## XIII.

## *TIMOTHEUS*, *the Son of* Conon, *the Athenian*.

### Chap. I.

*TIMOTHEUS* was *the Son of Conon the Athenian. He increaſed the Glory received from his Father, by* his *many excellent Qualities; for he was eloquent, active, laborious, ſkilled in military Affairs, and no leſs in the Government of the State. There are a great many famous Actions of his* upon Record, *but theſe the moſt illuſtrious. He ſubdued the* * *Olynthians and Byzantians in War; and took Samus, in the aſſaulting of which the Athenians, in the former War, had ſpent a thouſand and two hundred Talents. This he reſtored to the People, without any publick Charge. He carried on a War againſt* † *Cotys, and brought from him a thouſand two hundred Talents of Plunder into the publick Treaſury. He delivered Cyzicus*

* Olynthus was a City of Macedonia, not far from the Toronean Bay.

† Cotys was a King of Thrace.

des suos agro atque urbibus augeri maluit, quàm id sumere cujus partem domum suam ferre posset. Itaque accepit Erichthonem & Sestum.

* *Cyzicus from a Siege. He went along with Agesilaus to the Assistance of* † *Ariobarzanes; from whom, whilst the Lacedemonian received ready Cash, he chose rather* to have *his Countrymen enriched with Lands and Cities, than take that, Part of which he might carry to his own Home: And accordingly he received Erichthon and* ‡ *Sestus.*

CAP. II. Idem classi præfectus circumvehens Peloponnesum, Laconicam populatus, classem eorum fugavit. Corcyram sub imperium Atheniensium redegit; sociosque idem adjunxit Epirotas, Acarnanas, Chaonas, omnesque eas gentes quæ mare illud adjacent. Quo facto, Lacedæmonii de diutinâ contentione destiterunt, & suâ sponte Atheniensibus imperii maritimi principatum concesserunt, pacemque his legibus constituerunt: ut Athenienses mari duces essent. Quæ victoria tantæ fuit Atticis lætitiæ, ut tum primum aræ PACI PUBLICÆ sint factæ, eique deæ pulvinar sit institutum. Cujus laudis ut memo-

CHAP. II. *The same* Man *being Admiral of the Fleet,* and *sailing round Peloponnesus, having laid waste* ‖ *Laconia, defeated their Fleet. He reduced Corcyra under the Dominion of the Athenians; and joined* with them as *Allies the Epirotians, the* ** *Acarnanians, the* †† *Chaonians, and all those Nations which lie upon that Sea. After which, the Lacedemonians desisted from their long Dispute, and, of their own Accord, yielded up the Command at Sea to the Athenians, and made a Peace upon these Terms; that the Athenians should be Commanders at Sea. Which Victory was* the Cause of *so much Joy to the Athenians, that then first* of all *Altars were erected to* PUBLICK PEACE; *and a* § *Bed ordered for that*

* Cyzicus was a Town of Asia Minor upon the Propontis.
† One of the King of Persia's Viceroys in Asia Minor.
‡ A Town of the Thracian Chersonese upon the Hellespont.
‖ The Territory of Sparta in the South Parts of Peloponnesus.
** Acarnania was in the West of Achaia, joining upon Epire.
†† The Chaonians were a People of Epire.
§ It was usual with the Greeks and Romans to have rich Beds set up in the Temples of their Gods, upon which their Images were placed in their Festivals.

memoria maneret, Timotheo publicè ſtatuam in foro poſuerunt: qui honos huic uni ante hoc tempus contigit, ut quum patri populus ſtatuam poſuiſſet, filio quoquè daret. Sic juxta poſita recens filii veterem patris renovavit memoriam.

*that Goddeſs. And that the Memory of this glorious Action might remain, they erected a Statue to Timothy in the Forum at the publick Charge. Which Honour happened to him alone at that Time, that after the People had erected a Statue to the Father, they ſhould give one to the Son too. Thus the freſh* Statue *of the Son, placed nigh the other's, revived the old Memory of the Father's.*

Cap. III. Hic quum eſſet magno natu, & magiſtratus gerere deſiſſet, bello Athenienſes undique premi ſunt cœpti. Defecerat Samus, deſciêrat Helleſpontus, Philippus, jam tunc valens Macedo, multa moliebatur: cui oppoſitus Chares quum eſſet, non ſatis in eo præſidii putabatur; fit Mneſtheus prætor, filius Iphicratis, gener Timothei, &, ut ad bellum proficiſcatur, decernitur. Huic in conſilium dantur duo uſu & ſapientiâ præſtantes, quorum conſilio uteretur, pater & ſocer: quòd in his tanta erat auctoritas, ut magna ſpes eſſet, per eos amiſſa poſſe recuperari. Hi quum Samum profecti eſſent, & eodem Chares, eorum adventu cognito, cum ſuis copiis proficiſceretur, ne quid abſente ſe geſtum videretur; accidit,

Chap. III. *When he was now old, and had given over bearing Offices, the Athenians began to be diſtreſſed in War on all hands. Samus had revolted; the Helleſpont had left them; Philip the Macedonian, being then ſtrong, attempted many Things: Againſt whom as Chares was employed, and it was thought there was not Security enough in him, Mneſtheus is made Commander, the Son of Iphicrates, Son-in-law of Timothy, and a Decree is paſſed, that he ſhould go to the War. Two, exceeding in Experience and Wiſdom, are given him to * adviſe with, his Father and his Father-in-Law: Becauſe there was ſo great Authority in them, that there were great Hopes, that what had been loſt might be recovered by them. After theſe were come to Samus, and Chares, having Knowledge of their Coming, was going to the ſame*

* The Words, *quorum conſilio uteretur*, ſeem to have been put in the Margin by ſomebody, as a Gloſs upon the Words *in conſilium*; and at laſt by ſome careleſs Tranſcriber of Books taken into the Text: For they are wholly needleſs.

accidit, quum ad insulam appropinquarent, ut magna tempestas oriretur; quam evitare duo veteres imperatores utile arbitrati suam classem supprefferunt. At ille, temerariâ usus ratione, non cessit majorum natu auctoritati; &, ut in sua manu esset fortuna, quò contenderat, pervenit, eòdemque ut sequerentur, ad Timotheum & Iphicratem nuncium misit. Hinc malè re gestâ, compluribus amissis navibus, eòdem, unde erat profectus, se recepit, literasque Athenas publicè misit, sibi proclive fuisse, Samum capere nisi à Timotheo & Iphicrate desertus esset. Ob eam rem in crimen vocabantur. Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis, adversarius, invidus etiam potentiæ, domum revocat: accusantur proditionis. Hoc judicio damnatur Timotheus, lisque ejus æstimatur centum talentis. Ille, odio ingratæ civitatis coactus, Chalcidem se contulit.

*same Place with his Forces, lest any Thing should seem to be done in his Absence; it happened, as they were approaching the Island, that a great Storm arose; which the two old Commanders thinking it convenient to avoid stopped their Fleet; but he, taking a rash Course, did not yield to the Authority of his Elders, and, as if Fortune had been in his Power, came to the Place he had steered for. and sent a Messenger to Timothy and Iphicrates to follow him to the same Place. Upon this, his Business being ill managed,* and *several Ships being lost, he betook himself to the same Place from whence he had come, and sent Letters to Athens to the Government, that it had been an easy Matter for him to take Samus, if he had not been deserted by Timothy and Iphicrates. They were called to an Account for that Matter. The People being violent, suspicious, fickle,* all *against them, envious also of their Power, send for them home; they are impeached of Treason; Timothy is condemned in this Trial, and his Fine set at an hundred Talents. He, forced by the Hatred of the ungrateful City, betook himself to Chalcis.*

CAP. IV. Hujus post mortem, quum populum judicii sui pœniteret, mulctæ novem partes detraxit, & decem talenta Cononem filium ejus, ad muri quandam partem reficiendam, jussit dare. In

CHAP. IV. *After his Death, the People being sorry for their Sentence on him, took off nine Parts of the Fine, and ordered his Son Conon to give ten Talents, to repair a certain Part of the Wall: In which a Variety of*

In quo fortunæ varietas eſt animadverſa: Nam quos avus Conon muros ex hoſtium prædâ patriæ reſtituerat, eoſdem nepos cum ſummâ ignominiâ familiæ, ex ſuâ re familiari reficere coactus eſt. Timothei autem moderatæ, ſapientiſque vitæ, quum pluraque poſſimus proferre teſtimonia, uno erimus contenti, quòd ex eo facilè conjici poterit, quàm charus ſuis fuerit. Quum Athenis adoleſcentulus cauſam diceret, non ſolùm amici privatique hoſpites ad eum defendendum convenerunt, ſed etiam in eis Jaſon tyrannus, qui illo tempore fuit omnium potentiſſimus. His quum in patriâ ſine ſatellitibus ſe tutum non arbitraretur, Athenas ſine ullo præſidio venit; tantique hoſpitem fecit, ut mallet ſe capitis periculum adire, quàm Timotheo, de famâ dimicanti, deeſſe. Hunc adverſus tamen Timotheus poſtea, populi juſſu, bellum geſſit: Patriæ enim ſanctiora jura, quàm hoſpitii, eſſe duxit. Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Athenienſium; Iphicratis, Chabriæ, Timothei; neque poſt illorum obitum quiſquam dux in illâ urbe fuit dignus memoriâ.

*of Fortune was obſerved: For the Grandſon was obliged with great Diſgrace to his Family, out of his own Eſtate, to repair the ſame Walls, which his Grandfather Conon had rebuilt for his Country out of the Plunder of* its *Enemies. But tho' we could produce a great many Proofs of the moderate and wiſe Life of Timothy, we will be content with one, becauſe it may be eaſily conjectured from thence, how dear he was to his* Countrymen. *When, in his Youth, he was* upon a certain Occaſion *brought upon his Trial at Athens, not only his Friends and private Hoſts met to defend him, but likewiſe amongſt them, Jaſon a Prince of* Theſſaly, *who at that Time was the moſt powerful of all* others. *He, tho' he thought himſelf not ſafe in his own Country without Guards, came to Athens without any Guard; and valued his Friend ſo much, that he choſe rather to run the Hazard of his Life than be wanting to Timothy,* now *ſtruggling for his Honour. Yet Timothy carried on a War againſt him afterwards, by the Order of the People: For he reckoned the Rights of his Country more ſacred than* thoſe *of Friendſhip. This was the laſt Age of the Athenian Generals*; i. e. the Age *of Iphicrates, Chabrias,* and *Timothy: neither was there any General in that City worth mentioning after their Death.*

## XIV.

## *DATAMES.*

### CAP. I.

VENIO nunc ad fortissimum virum, maximique consilii, omnium barbarorum, exceptis duobus Carthaginiensibus, Hamilcare & Hannibale. De quo hoc plura referemus, quòd & obscuriora sunt ejus gesta pleraque, & ea quæ prosperè ei cesserunt, non magnitudine copiarum, sed consilio, quo tum omnes superabat, acciderunt. Quorum nisi ratio explicata fuerit, res apparere non potuerunt. Datames patre Camissare, natione Care; matre Scythissi natus. Primum militum numero fuit apud Artaxerxem eorum qui regiam tuebantur. Pater ejus Camissares, quòd & manu fortis, & bello strenuus, & regi multis locis fidelis erat repertus, habuit provinciam Ciliciæ juxta Cappadociam, quam incolunt Leucosyri. Datames militare munus fungens, primùm qualis esset aperuit, bello quod rex adversus Cadusios gessit: Namque hic, multis millibus hostium & regiorum inter-

## XIV.

## *DATAMES.*

### CHAP. I.

*COME now to the* I *bravest Man, and a* Man *of the greatest Conduct, of all the Barbarians; except the two Carthaginians, Hamilcar and Hannibal: Concerning whom I shall say the more, because most of his Actions are somewhat obscure, and the Things that succeeded well with him were brought about, not by the Greatness of Force but Conduct, in which he exceeded all Men at that Time: The Manner of which unless it be declared, the Things* themselves *cannot appear. Datames* was *come of a Father, by* Name *Camissares,* and *by Nation a Carian; of a Mother* that was *a Scythian. He was first of all one of those Soldiers under Artaxerxes, who defended the Palace. His Father Camissares, because he had been found brave and active in War, and faithful to the King, upon many Occasions, had the Province of Cilicia, near Cappadocia, which the Leucosyrians inhabit. Datames following the Business of a Soldier, first discovered what he was, in the War which the King carried*

interfectis, magni fuit ejus opera. Quo factum eſt, ut quum in eo bello cecidiſſet Camiſſares, paterna ei traderetur provincia.

*carried on againſt the Caduſians: For here, after a great many Thouſands of the Enemies, and the King's Men were ſlain, his Service was of great* Account. *For which* Reaſon *it was, that Camiſſares having fallen in that War, his Father's Province was given him.*

CAP. II. Pari ſe virtute poſtea præbuit, quum Autophradates juſſu regis bello perſequeretur eos, qui defecerant: Namque ejus operâ hoſtes, quum caſtra jam intrâſſent, profligati ſunt, exercituſque reliquus conſervatus regis eſt. Quâ ex re majoribus rebus præeſſe cœpit. Erat eo tempore Thyus, dynaſtes Paphlagoniæ, antiquo genere natus, à Pylæmene illo, quem Homerus Troico bello à Patroclo interfectum ait. Is regni dicto audiens non erat; quam ob cauſam bello eum perſequi conſtituit, eique rei præfecit Datamen, propinquum Paphlagonis; namque ex fratre & ſorore erant nati. Quam ob cauſam Datames omnia primùm experiri voluit, ut ſine armis propinquum ad officium reduceret. Ad quem quum veniſſet ſine præſidio, quòd ab amico nullas veretur inſidias, penè interiit. Nam Thyus eum clam interficere

CHAP. II. *He afterwards behaved himſelf with the like Gallantry, when Autophradates, by the King's Order, fell upon thoſe by War, who had revolted: For by his Means the Enemies, after they had now entered the Camp, were routed, and the reſt of the King's Army was ſaved. After which Thing he began to command in greater Affairs. Thyus at that Time was Prince of * Paphlagonia, of an ancient Family, deſcended from that Pylæmenes, who, Homer ſays, was ſlain by Patroclus in the Trojan War. He was not obedient to the King; for which Reaſon he reſolved to fall upon him in a War, and placed Datames over that Affair, a Relation of the Paphlagonian; for they were Brother's and Siſter's Children. For which Reaſon Datames had a Mind to try all Things firſt, to bring back his Relation to his Duty, without Arms. To whom when he was come without any Guard, becauſe he feared no Treachery from a Friend, he had like to have loſt his Life. For*



* Paphlagonia was a Country in Aſia Minor, bordering upon the Euxine Sea.

terficere voluit. Erat mater cum Datame amita Paphlagonis: ea, quid ageretur, resciit, filiumque monuit. Ille fugâ periculum evitavit, bellumq; indixit Thyo. In quo quum ab Ariobarzane, præfecto Lydiæ & Ioniæ, totiusque Phrygiæ, desertus esset, nihilo segniùs perseveravit, vivumque Thyum cepit, cum uxore & liberis.

*Thyus designed to have killed him privately. His Mother was with Datames, the Aunt of the Paphlagonian; she understood what was doing, and warned her Son* of it. *He avoided the Danger by Flight, and proclaimed War against Thyus; in which, though he was deserted by Ariobarzanes, the Governor of Lydia, and Ionia, and all Phrygia, he persisted nevertheless vigorously, and took Thyus alive, with his Wife and Children.*

CAP. III. Cujus facti ne priùs fama ad regem, quàm ipse perveniret, dedit operam. Itaque omnibus insciis, eò ubi erat rex, venit; posteroque die Thyum, hominem maximi corporis, terribilique facie, quod & niger, & capillo longo, barbàque erat prolixâ, optimâ veste contexit, quam satrapæ regii gerere consueverant. Ornavit etiam torque, atque armillis aureis, cæteroque regio cultu. Ipse agresti, duplicique, amiculo circundatus, hirtâque tunicâ, gerens in capite galeam venatoriam, dextrâ manu clavam, sinistrâ copulam, quâ vinctum ante se Thyum agebat, ut si feram bestiam captam duceret. Quem quum omnes prospicerent, propter novitatem ornatûs ignotamque formam, ob eamque rem magnus esset concursus, fuit non nemo qui agnosceret Thyum, regique nunciaret. Primo non accredidit:

CHAP. III. *The Fame of which Fact he did his Endeavour should not come to the King, before himself. Wherefore he came to the Place where the King was,* whilst *all People were ignorant* of it; *and the Day after cloathed Thyus, a Man of huge Body, and terrible Countenance, because he was both black, and* had *long Hair, and a long Beard, in a fine Robe, which the King's Viceroys used to wear. He dressed him up likewise in a Chain and Bracelets of Gold, and the other royal Apparel. He being clad in a rustick Coat double, with a coarse Tunick, wearing a Hunter's Cap upon his Head,* and having *in his right Hand a Club, in his left a Chain, in which he drove Thyus bound before him, as if he was carrying a wild Beast* which he had *taken. Whom whilst all People gazed at, because of the Oddness of the Dress, and for that Reason a great Crowd was gathered* about him, *there was somebody who knew Thyus, and*

dit: Itque Pharnabazum misit exploratum; à quo ut rem gestam comperit, statim admitti jussit, magnopere delectatus cum facto, tum ornatu: in primis, quòd nobilis rex in potestatem inopinanti venerat. Itaque magnificè Datamen donatum ad exercitum misit, qui tum contrahebatur, duce Pharnabazo & Tithrauste, ad bellum Ægyptium, parique eum atque illos imperio esse jussit. Postea verò quàm Pharnabazum rex revocavit, illi summa imperii tradita est.

*and told the King. At first he did not believe it: wherefore he sent Pharnabazus to enquire; from whom, as soon as he understood the Thing done, he ordered him immediately to be admitted*, and was *mightily pleased both with the Fact, and the Dress; especially, that a noble King was come into his Possession*, whilst he was *unaware* of it. *Wherefore he sent Datames nobly presented to the Army which was then raising under the Generals Pharnabazus and Tithraustes, for the Egyptian War, and ordered him to be in the same Command as they; but after the King recalled Pharnabazus, the chief Direction of the War was delivered to him.*

CAP. IV. Hic quum maximo studio compararet exercitum, Ægyptumque proficisci pararet, subitò à rege literæ sunt ei missæ, ut Aspim aggrederetur, qui Cataoniam tenebat; quæ gens jacet supra Ciliciam, confinis Cappadociæ. Namque Aspis saltuosam regionem, castellisque munitam incolens, non solùm imperio regis non parebat, sed etiam finitimas regiones vexabat, &, quæ regi portarentur, abripiebat. Datames, etsi longè aberat ab his regionibus, & à majore re abstrahebatur, tamen

CHAP. IV. *Whilst he was raising an Army with the utmost Application, and was preparing to march for Egypt, a Letter was suddenly sent him by the King, to attack Aspis, who held * Cataonia; which Nation lies above Cilicia, bordering upon Cappadocia. For Aspis, inhabiting a woody Country, and fortified with Castles, did not only disobey the King's Authority, but likewise harrassed the neighbouring Countries, and intercepted what was carried* that Way *for the King. Datames, though he was a great Way from those Parts, and was taken from a greater Matter, yet*

* Cataonia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, are all Provinces in the East Parts of Asia Minor.

tamen regis voluntati morem gerendum putavit. Itaque cum paucis sed viris fortibus navem conscendit; existimans, id quod accidit, faciliùs se imprudentem & imparatum parvâ manu oppressurum quàm paratum quamvis magno exercitu. Hâc delatus, in Ciliciam egressus, inde dies noctesque iter faciens, Taurum transiit, eòque quò studuerat, venit. Quærit quibus locis sit Aspis; cognoscit haud longè abesse, profectumque eum venatum: Quem dum speculatur, adventûs ejus causa cognoscitur. Pisidas, cum iis quos secum habebat, ad resistendum Aspis comparat. Id Datames ubi audivit, arma capit, suos sequi jubet. Ipse equo concitato ad hostem vehitur; quem procul Aspis conspiciens ad se ferentem pertimescit; atque à conatu resistendi deterritus sese dedit. Hunc Datames vinctum ad regem ducendum tradit Mithridati.

*yet thought it necessary to pay Obedience to the King's Pleasure. Wherefore he goes aboard a Ship with a few but stout Men, thinking that, which fell out, that he might more easily master him, unaware of him, and unprepared, with a small Force, than prepared* for him, *with any Army how great soever. Arriving in this* Ship *in Cilicia, and landing, making his March Night and Day, he passed Taurus, and came to the* Place *which he had intended for. He enquires in what Parts Aspis was: He understands he was not far off, and was gone hunting: Whom whilst he lies in wait for, the Reason of his coming is known. Aspis prepares the * Pisidians, and those he had with him, for a Resistance. When Datames heard that, he takes Arms, and orders his Men to follow him. He, putting on his Horse, rides towards the Enemy; whom Aspis seeing at a Distance coming towards him, affrighted and deterred from his Attempt of resisting, surrenders himself. Datames delivers him bound to Mithridates, to be led to the King.*

CAP. V. Hæc dum geruntur, Artaxerxes reminiscens à quanto bello ad quam parvam rem principem ducum misisset, se ipse reprehendit, & nuncium ad exercitum Acen misit, quòd nondum

CHAP. V. *Whilst these Things are doing, Artaxerxes considering from how great a War, to what an inconsiderable Business, he had sent the greatest of his Generals, blamed himself* for it, *and dispatches away a Messenger to*

* Pisidia is a Country of Asia Minor beyond Caria, bordering upon Lycia and Pamphylia.

dum Datamen profectum, putabat, qui ei diceret, ne ab exercitu discederet. Hic, priusquam perveniret, quo erat profectus, in itinere convenit, qui Aspim ducebant. Quâ celeritate quum magnam benevolentiam regis Datames consecutus esset, non minorem invidiam aulicorum excepit, quòd illum unum pluris, quàm se omnes, fieri videbant: Quo facto, cuncti ad eum opprimendum consenserunt. Hæc Pandates, gazæ custos regiæ, amicus Datami, per scripta ei mittit: In quibus docet, Eum magno fore periculo, si quid, illo imperante, in Ægypto adversi accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem regum, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunæ suæ: Quo facilè fieri, ut impellantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res malè gestæ nuncientur. Illum hoc majore fore discrimine quòd quibus rex maximè obediat, eos habeat inimicissimos. Talibus ille literis cognitis, quum jam ad exercitum Acen venisset, quòd non ignorabat ea verè scripta, desciscere à rege constituit. Neque tamen quicquam fecit, quod fide suâ esset indignum: Nam Androclem Magnetem exercitui præfecit.

*to the Army to* * *Ace, because he thought Datames was not yet gone, to tell him, that he should not depart from the Army. He, before he came whither he was going, met* those *on the Road that were carrying Aspis. With which Expedition whilst Datames gained the great Good-Will of the King, he met with no less Envy from the Courtiers, because they saw, that he alone was more valued than they all: Upon which they all agreed together to ruin him. Pandates, the Keeper of the King's Treasure, a Friend to Datames, sends him these Things in Writing: In which he informs him, That he would be in great Danger, if any ill Success happened whilst he commanded in Egypt. For that was the Custom of Kings, to impute all unfortunate Events to Men,* but *lucky ones to their own Fortune: From whence it easily came about, that they were soon persuaded to the Ruin of those, under whose Conduct Matters were said to be ill managed. He would be in so much the greater Danger, because he had those his bitter Enemies, to whom the King chiefly hearkened. He, having read his Letter, after he was come to the Army at Ace, because he was not ignorant, that those Things were truly written, resolves to revolt from the King. Neither yet did he do any Thing that was unworthy of his Honour: For he placed Androcles the Magnesian*

* A City of Phœnicia.

cit. Ipſe cum ſuis in Cappadociam diſcedit, conjunctamque huic Paphlagoniam occupat: celans quâ voluntate eſſet in regem, clam cum Ariobarzane facit amicitiam, manum comparat, urbes munitas ſuis tuendas tradit.

*ſian over the Army. He departs with his* Men *into Cappadocia, and ſeizes upon Paphlagonia, joining upon it: concealing how he was affected towards the King, he privately makes an Alliance with Ariobarzanes, raiſes an Army,* and *delivers the fortified Towns to his* Friends *to maintain* for him.

CAP. VI. Sed hæc propter hyemale tempus minùs proſperè ſuccedebant. Audit Piſidias quaſdam copias adverſus ſe parare: filium eò Aridæum cum exercitu mittit; cadit in prælio adoleſcens: Proficiſcitur eò pater non ita cum magnâ manu, celans quantum vulnus accepiſſet, quòd priùs ad hoſtem pervenire cupiebat, quàm de malè re geſtâ fama ad ſuos perveniret; ne cognitâ filii morte, animi debilitarentur militum. Quò contenderat, pervenit, iiſque locis caſtra ponit, ut neque circumveniri multitudine adverſariorum poſſet, neque impediri, quò minùs ipſe ad dimicandum manum haberet expeditam. Erat cum eo Mithrobarzanes, ſocer ejus, præfectus equitum: Is, deſperatis generi rebus, ad hoſtes transfugit. Id Datames ut audivit, ſenſit ſi in turbam exîſſet, ab homine tam neceſſario ſe relictum, futurum ut cæteri conſilium ſequerentur; in vulgus edit, ſuo juſſu Mithrobarzanem pro-

CHAP. VI. *But theſe Things, by Reaſon of the Winter Seaſon, went on leſs ſucceſsfully. He hears the Piſidians were raiſing ſome Troops againſt him; he ſends his Son Arideus thither with an Army; the young Man falls in Battle: The Father marches thither with no great Force, concealing how great a Loſs he had received, becauſe he was deſirous to come up to the Enemy before the News of* this *ill-managed Affair ſhould reach his* Men; *leſt,* upon *knowing the Death of his Son, the Minds of his Soldiers ſhould be diſcouraged. He came whither he intended, and pitches his Camp in thoſe Places, that he could neither be ſurrounded by the Number of his Enemies, nor hindered from having his Army* always *at Liberty to fight. Mithrobarzanes was with him, his Father-in-law, Commander of the Horſe. He, deſpairing of the Condition of his Son-in-law, deſerts to the Enemy. When Datames heard that, he was ſenſible, if it ſhould get abroad in the Army, that he was forſaken by a Man ſo near to him, it would come to paſs, that the reſt would follow his*

profectum pro perfugâ, quò faciliùs receptus interficeret hostes. Quare relinqui eum non par esse, sed omnes confestim sequi; Quod si animo strenuo fecissent, futurum ut adversarii non possent resistere, quum & intra vallum et foris cæderentur. Hâc re probatâ, exercitum educit, Mithrobarzanem persequitur, qui nondum ad hostes pervenerat; Datames signa inferri jubet. Pisidæ, novâ re commoti, in opinionem adducuntur, perfugas malâ fide, compositòque fecisse, ut recepti, essent majori calamitati: primùm eos adoriuntur. Illi, quum quid ageretur, aut quare fieret, ignorarent, coacti sunt cum eis pugnare, ad quos transiêrant, ab hisque stare, quos reliquerant: Quibus cùm neutri parcerent, celeriter sunt concisi. Reliquos Pisidas resistentes Datames invadit; primo impetu pellit, fugientes persequitur, multos interficit, castra hostium capit. Tali consilio uno tempore & proditores perculit, & hostes profligavit; & quod ad suam perniciem fuerat cogitatum, id ad salutem convertit. Quo neque acutius ullius imperatoris cogitatum, neque celerius factum usquam legimus.

*his Course. He spreads a* Report *amongst the common Soldiers, that Mithrobarzanes was gone over a Deserter by his Order, that he might the more easily,* by being *received* as such, *kill their Enemies. Wherefore it was not fit that he should be left, but that they all ought immediately to follow; which if they did with a resolute Mind,* the Consequence *would be, that their Enemies would not be able to resist, since they would be cut off within their Ramparts, and without. This Thing being approved of, he draws out his Army, pursues Mithrobarzanes, who had not yet got up to the Enemy. Datames orders the Standards to advance. The Pisidians, surprized at this odd Thing, are brought to a Persuasion, that the Deserters acted with an ill Intention, and by Compact* with their other Friends, *that being received* into the Camp, *they might do* them *the more Mischief; they fall upon them in the first Place. They, as they knew not what was doing, nor why it was done, were forced to fight with those to whom they were going over, and to stand by them whom they had deserted: Which whilst neither* Side *spared, they were quickly cut to pieces. Datames invades the rest of the Pisidians resisting: He repels them at the first Attack, pursues them flying, kills many,* and *takes the Enemy's Camp. By this Management he at once both ruined the Traitors, and defeated his Enemies; and turned what had*

*been contrived for his Deſtruction to his Preſervation. Than which we do not read of any Invention of a General more acute, nor any Action more expeditious.*

CAP. VII. Ab hoc tamen viro Syſinas, maximus natu filius, deſciſt, adque regem tranſiit, & de defectione patris detulit. Quo nuncio Artaxerxes commotus, quòd intelligebat ſibi cum viro forti ac ſtrenuo negotium eſſe, qui, quum cogitâſſet, facere auderet, & priùs cogitare, quàm conari conſuêſſet; Autophradatum in Cappadociam mittit. Hic ne intrare poſſet ſaltum, in quo Ciliciæ portæ ſunt ſitæ, Datames præoccupare ſtuduit. Sed tam ſubitò copias contrahere non potuit: A quâ re depulſus, cum eâ manu quam contraxerat, locum delegit talem, ut neque circumiretur ab hoſtibus, neque præteriret adverſarius, quin ancipitibus locis premeretur: &, ſi dimicare eo vellet, non multùm obeſſe multitudo hoſtium ſuæ paucitati poſſet.

CHAP. VII. *Yet* his *eldeſt Son, Syſinas, revolted from this Man, and went over to the King, and informed him of his Father's Revolt. At which News Artaxerxes being ſhocked, becauſe he underſtood he had to do with a brave and active Man, who, when he had conſidered* of a Thing, *durſt execute it, and was uſed to conſider, before he attempted* any Thing; *ſends Autophradates into Cappadocia. That he might not enter the Wood in which the* * *Cilician Gates are ſituated, Datames endeavoured to ſeize it before him. But he could not ſo ſuddenly draw his Forces together: From which Thing being obliged to recede, with that Army which he got together, he choſe ſuch a Place, that he could neither be ſurrounded by the Enemy, nor could his Adverſary paſs, but he would be diſtreſſed in difficult Places; and, if he had a Mind to fight in it, the Number of the Enemy could not much hurt his Handful of Men.*

CAP. VIII. Hæc etſi Autophradates videbat, ſatius tamen ſtatuit congredi, quàm cum tantis copiis refugere, aut

CHAP. VIII. *Although Autophradates was ſenſible of theſe Things, yet he thought it better to fight than to fly with ſo great an*

* A narrow Paſs in Mount Taurus.

aut tam diu uno loco ſedere. Habebat barbarorum equitum viginti, peditum centum millia, quos illi Cardaces appellant, ejuſdemque generis tria funditorum. Præterea Cappadocum octo, Armeniorum decem, Paphlagonum quinque, Phrygum decem, Lydorum quinque, Aſpendiorum & Piſidarum, circiter tria, Cilicum duo, Captianorum totidem ex Græciâ conductorum tria millia; levis armaturæ maximum numerum. Has adverſus copias ſpes omnis conſiſtebat Datami in ſe, locique naturâ; namque hujus partem non habebat vigeſimam militum: Quibus fretus conflixit, adverſariorumque multa millia concidit; quum de ipſius exercitu non ampliùs hominum mille cecidiſſent. Quam ob cauſam, poſtero die tropæum poſuit, quo loco pridie pugnatum. Hinc quum caſtra moviſſet, inferior copiis, ſuperior omnibus præliis diſcedebat; quòd nunquam manum conſereret, niſi adverſarios locorum anguſtiis clauſiſſet: quod perito regionum,

*an Army, or to continue ſo long in one Place. He had of Barbarian Horſe Twenty* thouſand, *of Foot a Hundred* thouſand, *which they call Cardaces, and Three* thouſand *Slingers of the ſame Kind, beſides Eight* thouſand *Cappadocians, Ten* thouſand * *Armenians, Five* thouſand *Paphlagonians, Ten* thouſand *Phrygians, Five* thouſand *Lydians, about Three* thouſand † *Aſpendians and Piſidians, Two* thouſand *Cilicians, as many Captians, Three thouſand Men hired out of Greece; a vaſt Number of* ‡ *light-armed Men. All Datames's Hopes againſt theſe Troops conſiſted in himſelf, and the Nature of the Place; for he had not the twentieth Part of his Soldiers: Depending upon which he engaged, and cut off many Thouſands of his Enemies; whereas not above a thouſand Men of his Army fell. For which Reaſon, the Day after he erected a* ** *Trophy in the Place where they had fought the Day before. After he removed his Camp from thence, though* he was *inferior in Forces, he came off ſuperior in all his Battles, becauſe he never engaged, but when he had incloſed his Enemies*

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* Armenia is a Country bounded by Aſia Minor.

† The Aſpendians were a People in that Part of Aſia Minor called Pamphylia.

‡ Men armed with Bows or Slings only, were called *leviter armati* or *levis armatura*.

** A Trophy was the Trunk of a Tree or a Poſt, hung about with Arms. Theſe were common with the Greeks; they ſcarcely ever got a Victory, but they erected a Trophy.

onum, callidèque cogitanti, sæpe accidebat. Autophradates quum bellum duci majore regis calamitate, quàm adversariorum, videret, ad pacem atque amicitiam hortatus est, ut cum rege in gratiam rediret. Quam ille etsi non fidam fore putabat, tamen conditionem accepit, seque ad Artaxerxem legatos missurum dixit. Sic bellum, quod rex adversus Datamen susceperat, sedatum: Autophradates in Phrygiam se recepit.

*Enemies within some narrow Place: Which often happened to* the Man, being *very well acquainted with the Country, and contriving subtilely. When Autophradates found that the War was continued with greater Loss to the King, than his Enemies, he advised him to Peace and Friendship*, and *that he would return to a good Understanding with the King. Which though he perceived would not be faithfully kept, yet he accepted the Offer, and said that he would send Ambassadours to Artaxerxes. Thus the War, which the King had undertaken against Datames*, was *ended*; *Autophradates withdrew himself into Phrygia.*

CAP. IX. At rex, quòd implacabile odium in Datamen susceperat, postquam bello eum opprimi non posse animadvertit, insidiis interficere studuit, quas ille plerasque vitavit. Sicut, quum nunciatum esset quosdam sibi insidiari, qui in amicorum erant numero: de quibus, quòd inimici detulerant, neque credendum, neque negligendum putavit; experiri voluit, verum falsumne, sibi esset relatum. Itaque eò profectus est, in quo itinere futuras insidias illi dixerant. Sed elegit corpore & staturâ simillimum sui, eique vestitum suum dedit, atque eo loci ire, quo ipse consueverat, jussit: ipse autem, ornatus vestitu militari, inter corporis custodes iter

CHAP. IX. *But the King, because he had taken up an implacable Hatred against Datames, after he found that he could not be mastered in War, endeavoured to take him off by underhand Contrivances, most of which he avoided. As, when it was told* him, *that some were plotting against him, who were in the Number of his Friends; of whom because their Enemies had given the Information, he thought the Thing was neither* entirely *to be believed nor slighted; he had a Mind to try whether* it was *true or false*, that *had been told him. Wherefore he went that Way in which they told him the Ambush was to be laid for him; but he chose out one that was very like himself in Person and Stature, and gave him his own Attire, and ordered*

iter facere cœpit. At insidiatores, postquam in eum locum agmen pervenit, decepti ordine atque vestitu, in eum faciunt impetum, qui suppositus erat. Prædixerat autem his Datames cum quibus iter faciebat, ut parati essent facere quod ipsum vidissent. Ipse, ut concurrentes insidiatores animadvertit, tela in eos conjecit: hoc idem quum universi fecissent, priusquam pervenirent ad eum, quem aggredi volebant, confixi ceciderunt.

*ordered him to go in that Part of the Company, in which he used to do: But he himself, being dressed up in a military Habit, began to march amongst the Guards of his Person. But the Plotters, after the Company were got into that Place, being deceived by the Order and the Dress, make an Attack upon him who had been put in Datames's Place. But Datames had beforehand ordered them with whom he marched, to be ready to do what they should see him do. He, as soon as he saw the Plotters coming on in a Body, discharged his Weapons at them; and as all the rest did the same, they fell down slain, before they could come up with him whom they intended to assault.*

Cap. X. Hic tamen tam callidus vir extremo tempore captus est Mithridatis, Ariobarzanis filii, dolo: namque is pollicitus est regi, se eum interfecturum, si rex promitteret, ut quodcunque vellet, liceret impunè facere, fidemque de eâ re dextrâ dedisset. Hanc ut accepit, simulat se suscepisse cum rege inimicitias, copias parat, & absens, amicitiam cum Datame facit: regis provinciam vexat, castella expugnat, magnas prædas capit; quarum partem suis dispertit, partem ad Datamen mittit: Pari modo, complura castella ei tradit. Hæc diu faciendo, persuasit homini, se infinitum adversus regem suscepisse bellum;

Chap. X. *Yet this Man, as cunning* as he was, *at last was trepanned by the Contrivance of Mithridates, the Son of Ariobarzanes; for he promised the King, that he would kill him, if the King would promise him, that he might do with Impunity whatsoever he would, by giving him his right-Hand. As soon as he had received this, he pretends that he had engaged in a Quarrel with the King. He raises Troops, and,* though *absent, makes Alliance with Datames, harasses the King's Province, takes his Castles, gets Abundance of Plunder; Part of which he divided amongst his* Men; *Part he sends to Datames: In like Manner he delivers him many Castles. By doing this a long Time, he persuaded the Man that*

lum; quum nihilo magis, ne quam suspicionem illi præberet insidiarum, neque colloquium ejus petivit, neque in conspectum venire studuit. Sic, absens, amicitiam gerebat; ut non beneficiis mutuis, sed odio communi, quod erga regem susceperant, contineri viderentur.

*that he had undertaken an endless War against the King; whilst notwithstanding, that he might not give him any Suspicion of Treachery* in the Case, *he neither desired a Conference with him, nor endeavoured to come in his Sight. Thus,* tho' *absent, he maintained a Friendship* with him; *that they seemed not to be engaged to one another by mutual Kindnesses, but by the common Hatred, which they had both conceived against the King.*

CAP. XI. Id quum satis se confirmâsse arbitratus est, certiorem facit Datamen, tempus esse majores exercitus parari, & bellum cum rege suscipi: de quâ re, si ei videretur, quò vellet in colloquium veniret. Probatâ re, colloquendi tempus sumitur, locusque quo conveniretur. Huc Mithridates cum uno cui maximam habebat fidem, antè aliquot dies venit, compluribusque locis separatim gladios obruit, eaque loca diligenter notat. Ipso autem colloquendi die, utrique locum qui explorarent, atque ipsos scrutarentur, mittunt; deindè ipsi sunt congressi. Hîc quum aliquandiu in colloquio fuissent, & diversi discessissent, jamque procul Datames abesset, Mithridates, priusquam ad suos perveniret, ne quam suspicionem pararet, in eundem locum revertitur, atque ibi, ubi telum erat impositum, resedit, ut si à lassitudine cuperet

CHAP. XI. *After he thought he had sufficiently confirmed that, he makes Datames acquainted, that it was Time that greater Armies should be raised, and the War undertaken with the King* himself; *concerning which Matter, if it seemed to him* proper, *he might come to a Conference with him where he pleased. The Thing being approved of, a Time for conferring together is pitched upon, and a Place* too, *where they should meet. Hither Mithridates came with one, in whom he had the greatest Confidence, some Days before, and buries Swords apart in several Places, and marks those Places carefully. Upon the Day of the Conference, each of them send* Men *to examine the Place, and search themselves, and then they met. After they had been here some Time in Conference, and had parted different Ways, and now Datames was a great Way off, Mithridates before he came to his* Men, *that he might not create any Suspicion*

in

peret acquieſcere: Datamenque revocavit, ſimulans ſe quiddam in colloquio eſſe oblitum. Interim telum, quod latebat, protulit; nudatumque vaginâ, veſte texit; ac Datami venienti ait, digredientem ſe animadvertiſſe locum quendam, qui erat in conſpectu, ad caſtra ponenda eſſe idoneum. Quem quum digito monſtraret, & ille conſpiceret, averſum ferro tranſfixit: & priuſquam quiſquam poſſet ſuccurrere, interfecit. Ita ille vir, qui multos conſilio, neminem perfidiâ, ceperat, ſimulatâ captus eſt amicitiâ.

in him, *returns into the ſame Place, and ſat down there where a Sword had been laid, as if he had a Mind to reſt himſelf after his Wearineſs; and recalled Datames, pretending that he had forgot ſomething in the Conference. In the mean Time he took out the Sword that lay hid; and being drawn out of the Sheath, covered it under his Coat; and ſays to Datames,* as he was *coming, that he had,* at *parting, obſerved a certain Place, which was in View, to be proper for the pitching of a Camp; which whilſt he was pointing to with his Finger, and the other was looking at, he run him through, having his Back turned towards him, with the Sword; and before any one could ſuccour him, killed him. Thus that Man, who had taken many by his good Conduct, none by Treachery, was caught* himſelf *by a pretended Friendſhip.*

## XV. EPAMINONDAS,

XV.

## EPAMINONDAS, Polymni *filius, Thebanus.*

CAP. I.

EPaminondas, Polymni filius, Thebanus. De hoc priusquam scribamus, hæc præcipienda videntur lectoribus; Ne alienos mores ad suos referant; neve ea, quæ ipsis leviora sunt, pari modo apud cæteros fuisse arbitrentur. Scimus enim musicen nostris moribus abesse à principis personâ; saltare etiam in vitiis poni: Quæ omnia apud Græcos & grata, & laude digna ducuntur. Quum autem exprimere imaginem consuetudinis atque vitæ velimus Epaminondæ, nihil videmur debere prætermittere, quod pertineat ad eam declarandam. Quare dicemus primùm de genere ejus: deinde quibus disciplinis, & a quibus sit eruditus: tum de moribus ingeniique facultatibus, & si qua alia digna memoriâ erunt; postremo

XV.

## EPAMINONDAS, *the Son of* Polymnus, *the Theban.*

CHAP. I.

*Epaminondas* was *the Son of Polymnus, the Theban. Before we write of him, these* Cautions *seem proper to be given to our Readers; That they would not examine other People's Fashions by* those of *their own* Country; *nor think those Things which are trivial with them, to have been in like manner* so *with others. For we know, that according to our Usages, Musick is far from* being suitable to *the Character of a Prince; and that Dancing is reckoned amongst Vices: All which, amongst the Greeks, are reckoned both agreeable, and worthy of Commendation. But as we design to draw the Picture of Epaminondas's Way and* Manner of *Life, we seem obliged to pass by nothing that may be proper to setting it forth. Wherefore we will speak first of his Extraction; then in what Parts of Literature, and by whom he was instructed; then of his Manners, and*

ſtremò de rebus geſtis, quæ a plurimis omnium anteponuntur virtutibus.

*and Abilities of Mind, and if there be any other Things worthy to be remembered: And finally concerning his great Actions, which by many are preferred before all Virtues* whatſoever.

Cap. II. Natus igitur patre, quo diximus, honeſto genere, pauper jam à majoribus relictus: Eruditus autem ſic, ut nemo Thebanus magìs; nam & citharizare, & cantare ad chordarum ſonum doctus eſt à Dionyſio, qui non minore fuit in muſicis gloriâ, quam Damon aut Lamprus, quorum pervulgata ſunt nomina: carmina cantare tibiis, ab Olympiodoro; ſaltare, à Calliphrone. At philoſophiæ præceptorem habuit Lyſim Tarentinum Pythagoreum; cui quidem ſic fuit deditus, ut adoleſcens triſtem & ſeverum ſenem omnibus æqualibus ſuis in familiaritate antepoſuerit; neque priùs eum a ſe demiſerit quàm doctrinis tantò antecelſit condiſcipulos, ut facilè intelligi poſſet, pari modo ſuperaturum omnes in cæteris artibus. Atque hæc ad noſtram conſuetudinem ſunt levia & potiùs contemnenda: at in Græciâ utique olim magnæ laudi erant. Poſtquam ephebus factus eſt, &

Chap. II. *He was come of the Father we ſpake of, of an honourable Family; left now poor by his Forefathers: But* ſo well *educated, that no Theban was better: for he was taught to play upon the Harp, and to ſing to the Sound of the Strings by Dionyſius, who was in no leſs Fame amongſt the Muſicians, than Damon or Lamprus, whoſe Names are vulgarly celebrated:* He was taught *to play upon* * *Flutes by Olympiodorus,* and *to dance by Calliphron. But he had for his Maſter in Philoſophy Lyſis the Tarentine, the Pythagorean; to whom he was ſo devoted, that, young as* he was, *he preferred that grave and rigid old Gentleman, before thoſe of the ſame Age with himſelf, in his Familiarity. Nor did he part with him from him, before he ſo much excelled his Fellow Scholars in Learning, that it might be eaſily perceived that he would in like manner excel them all in other Arts. And theſe Things* with reſpect *to our Uſage are trifling, and rather to be deſpiſed; but in Greece*

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* As the Latin Word is Plural, I have tranſlated it by the Plural, becauſe it was no unuſual Thing amongſt the Ancients, for one to play upon two at once; which Piece of Art is, I ſuppoſe, now entirely loſt.

& palæſtræ dare operam cœpit, non tam magnitudini virium ſervivit, quàm velocitati: illam enim ad athletarum uſum; hanc, ad belli exiſtimabat utilitatem, pertinere. Itaque exercebatur plurimùm currendo & luctando, ad eum finem quoad ſtans complecti poſſet, atque contendere. In armis plurimum ſtudii conſumebat.

*Greece however, they were formerly a mighty Commendation. After he became a Man, and began to apply to his * Exerciſe, he did not mind ſo much the Improvement of his Strength as Swiftneſs: For that he thought conduced* much *to the Uſe of Wreſtlers*; but *this to the Convenience of War. Wherefore he was exerciſed very much in Running and Wreſtling †, as long as he could ſtanding grapple and contend with his* Adverſary. *He employed much of his Application in the* Exerciſe of *Arms.*

CAP. III. Ad hanc corporis firmitatem plura etiam animi bona acceſſerant. Erat enim modeſtus, prudens, gravis; temporibus ſapienter utens, peritus belli, fortis manu, animo maximo; adeò veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur. Idem continens, clemens, patienſque admirandum in modum; non ſolùm populi, ſed etiam amicorum ferens injurias. In primiſque commiſſa celans; quod interdum non minùs prodeſt quàm diſertè dicere. Studioſus audiendi; ex hoc enim facillime diſci arbitrabatur. Itaque quum in circu-

CHAP. III. *To this Strength of Body a great many good Qualities of the Mind were likewiſe added. For he was modeſt, prudent, ſteady, wiſely uſing the Times, ſkilled in War, brave in Action,* and *of a great Mind: Such a Lover of Truth, that he would not indeed tell a Lie in Jeſt. The ſame* Man *was moderate, merciful, and patient to a wonderful Degree, not only bearing with the Injuries of the People but his Friends: Eſpecially a Concealer of Secrets, which ſometimes does no leſs Service, than to ſpeak eloquently. Very fond of hearing* others diſcourſe; *for by this he thought a Man*

* The Youth of Greece and Rome uſed to ſpend much of their Time in manly Exerciſes to fit them for the Wars, unacquainted with the Softneſs of Balls, Maſquerades, &c. For this Purpoſe their Cities were provided with fine ſtately Buildings, called *Gymnaſia* and *Palæſtræ*.

† The Latin Text here is very much blundered.

circulum veniſſet, in quo aut de republicâ diſputaretur, aut de philoſophiâ ſermo haberetur, nunquam inde priùs diſceſſit, quàm ad finem ſermo eſſet deductus. Paupertatem adeò facilè perpeſſus eſt, ut de republicâ nihil præter gloriam ceperit. Amicorum in ſe tuendo caruit facultatibus; fide ad alios ſublevandos ſæpe ſic uſus eſt, ut poſſis judicari omnia ei cum amicis fuiſſe communia. Nam quum aut civium ſuorum aliquis ab hoſtibus fuiſſet captus, aut virgo amici nobilis propter paupertatem collocari non poſſet; amicorum concilium habebat, & quantùm quiſque daret, pro facultatibus imperabat: eamque ſummam quum faceret, priuſquam acciperet pecuniam, adducebat eum, qui quærebat, ad eos qui conferebant, eique ut ipſi numerarent, faciebat; ut ille ad quem ea res perveniebat, ſciret quibus & quantùm cuique deberet.

*Man might learn in the moſt eaſy Manner. Wherefore, when he came into Company, * in which there was either a Diſpute about the Government, or* any *Diſcourſe held upon* a Point of *Philoſophy, he never departed thence, till the Diſcourſe was brought to a Concluſion. He bore* his *Poverty ſo eaſily, that he got nothing by the Government, but Glory. He did not make uſe of the Eſtates of his Friends in maintaining himſelf; he often ſo uſed his Credit to relieve his Friends, that it may be judged* by that, *that he had all Things in common with his Friends: For when either any of his Countrymen were taken by the Enemies, or a marriageable Daughter of a Friend could not be diſpoſed of, by reaſon of his Poverty, he held a Council of his Friends, and ordered how much every Man ſhould give, according to his Eſtate: and when he made up the Sum, before he received the Money, he brought the Man, who wanted it to thoſe who contributed, and made them pay it to himſelf; that he, to whom that Benefit came, might know to whom he was indebted, and how much to every one.*



* It was not the Cuſtom formerly, as now, for Men to club and tipple away their Time in Taverns; that was ſcandalous amongſt the Heathens themſelves. Their uſual Place of Reſort for Converſation, in the Day-time, was the Forum, and the public Buildings about it, as Courts and Piazzas; where, as they uſed to ſtand in Rings or Circles for the better Convenience of hearing one another, *Circulus* came to be peculiarly uſed for ſuch a Knot of Company.

CAP. IV. Tentata autem ejus est abstinentia à Diomedonte Cyziceno; namque is, rogatu Artaxerxis, Epaminondam pecuniâ corrumpendum suscepérat. Hìc magno cum pondere auri Thebas venit, & Micythum, adolescentulum, quinque talentis, ad suam perduxit voluntatem, quem tum Epaminondas plurimùm diligebat. Micythus Epaminondam convenit, & causam adventûs Diomedontis ostendit: At ille, Diomedonte coram, nihil, inquit, opus pecuniâ est: Nam si ea rex vult, quæ Thebanis sunt utilia, gratis facere sum paratus: sin autem contraria, non habet auri atque argenti satis; namque orbis terrarum divitias accipere nolo, pro patriæ charitate. Te, qui me incognitum tentâsti, tuique similem existimâsti, non miror; tibi ignosco; sed egredere propere, ne alios corrumpas, quum me non potueris. Tu, Micythe, argentum huic redde, aut nisi id confestim facis, ego te tradam magistratui. Hunc Diomedon quum rogaret, ut tuò exiret suaque quæ attulisset, liceret efferre: Istud, inquit, faciam; neque tuâ causâ, sed meâ: ne, si, tibi sit pecunia adempta, aliquis dicat ad me ereptum pervenisse, quod delatum accipere noluissem. A quo quum quæsisset, quò se duci vellet, & ille Athenas

CHAP. IV. *His Justice was tried by Diomedon of Cyzicus: For he, at the Request of Artaxerxes, had undertaken to bribe Epaminondas. He came to Thebes with a vast Quantity of Gold, and brought over Micythus, a young Man, by five Talents, to his Lure, whom at that Time Epaminondas loved very much. Micythus went to Epaminondas, and tells him the Occasion of Diomedon's coming: But he, in the Presence of Diomedon, said, There is no Need of Money* in the Case: *For if the King desires those Things, which are expedient for the Thebans, I am ready to do them for nothing: But if the contrary, he has not Silver and Gold enough; for I would not take the Riches of the whole World for the Love of my Country. I do not wonder at you, who have attempted me unknown* to you, *and thought me like yourself: I forgive you; but get you gone quickly, lest you corrupt others, though you have not been able* to corrupt me. *Do you, Micythus, give him his Silver again, or, unless you do it immediately, I will deliver you to the Magistrate. When Diomedon asked him, that he might be suffered to go off safely, and carry away what he had brought* with him: *That, says he, I shall do; not for your Cause, but my own: lest, if your Money should be taken from you, any one should say, that that was taken* from you, and *come to me, which I would not accept of* when *offered. Of whom when*

nas dixiſſet, præſidium dedit, ut eò tutò perveniret: Neque verò id ſatis habuit, ſed etiam ut inviolatus in navem aſcenderet, per Chabriam Athenienſem, de quo ſuprà mentionem fecimus, effecit. Abſtinentiæ erit hoc ſatis teſtimonium. Plurima quidem proferre poſſemus, ſed modus adhibendus eſt; quoniam uno hoc volumine vitam excellentium virorum complurium concludere conſtituimus, quorum ſeparatim multis millibus verſuum complures ſcriptores ante nos explicárunt.

*when he had enquired, whither he had a Mind to be conducted, and he ſaid, to Athens, he gave him a Guard, that he might come ſafely thither: Nor indeed did he reckon that ſufficient, but he likewiſe took Care, that he ſhould go on board a Ship uninjured, by Chabrias the Athenian, of whom we have made mention above. This will be a ſufficient Teſtimony of his Juſtice. We could indeed produce a great many, but Moderation is to be uſed, becauſe we have deſigned to compriſe, in this ſingle Volume, the Lives of ſeveral excellent Men, whoſe Lives ſeveral Writers before us have given an Account of ſeparately in many Thouſands of Lines.*

Cap. V. Fuit & diſertus, ut nemo Thebanus ei par eſſet eloquentiâ: neque minùs concinnus in brevitate reſpondendi, quàm in perpetuâ oratione ornatus. Habuit obtrectatorem Menecliden quendam, indidem Thebis, adverſarium in adminiſtrandâ republicâ, ſatis exercitatum in dicendo; ut Thebanum ſcilicet: Namque illi genti plùs ineſt virium, quàm ingenii. Is, quòd in re militari florere Epaminondam videbat, hortari ſolebat Thebanos, ut pacem bello anteferrent, ne illius imperatoris opera deſideraretur. Huic ille, Fallis, inquit, verbo cives tuos, quod hos à bello avocas: otii enim nomine ſervitutem con-

Chap. V. *He was likewiſe eloquent, that no Theban was equal to him for Eloquence, and no leſs dextrous in the Shortneſs of his Replies, than florid in a continued Harangue. He had one Menecldes there at Thebes as a Competitor, and Enemy to him in managing the Government, ſufficiently exerciſed in ſpeaking, for a Theban; that is: For that Nation has more of bodily Strength than Wit. He, becauſe he ſaw Epaminondas make a figure in military Affairs, uſed to adviſe the Thebans to prefer Peace before War, that the Service of that General might not be wanted. Upon which he ſays to him, You deceive your Countrymen with that Word, in diſſuading them from War; for you recommend*

concilias; nam paratur pax bello. Itaque qui eâ diutinâ volunt frui, bello exercitati esse debent. Quare, si principes Græciâ esse vultis, castris est vobis utendum, non palæstrâ. Idem ille Meneclides quum huic objiceret quòd liberos non haberet, neque uxorem duxisset; maximèque insolentiam, quòd sibi Agamemnonis belli gloriam videretur consecutus: At ille, Desine, inquit, Meneclide, de uxore mihi exprobare: nam nullius in istâ re minùs uti consilio volo. (Habebat enim Meneclides suspicionem adulterii.) Quòd autem me Agamemnonem æmulari putas, falleris; namque ille, cum universâ Græciâ, vix decem annis unam cepit urbem: Ego, contrà, ex unâ urbe nostrâ, dieque uno, totam Græciam, Lacedæmoniis fugatis, liberavi.

*mend Slavery to them under the Name of Peace; for Peace is procured by War. Wherefore, they that will enjoy it long, ought to be exercised in War. Wherefore, if you have a Mind to be the Leaders of Greece, you must use the Camp,* and *not the Place of Exercise. What the same Meneclides objected to him,* * *that he had no Children, nor had married a Wife; and especially* objected against him *his Insolence, because he seemed to himself to have acquired the Glory of Agamemnon in War: But, says he, Give over, Meneclides, to upbraid me about a Wife: For I could take no Body's Advice in that Matter less* than your's. *(For Meneclides went under the Suspicion of making too free with other Men's Wives) And whereas you think I rival Agamemnon, you are mistaken; for he with all Greece, with Difficulty, took one City in Ten Years: I, on the other Hand, from this one City of ours, and in one Day, delivered all Greece, by routing the Lacedemonians.*

CAP. VI. Idem quum in conventum venisset Arcadûm, petens, ut societatem cum Thebanis & Argivis facerent;

CHAP. VI. *When the same Person was come into the Assembly of the Arcadians, desiring that they would make an Alliance with the Thebans*

* As the Strength of any Government consists much in the Numbers of the People, Matrimony was so encouraged amongst the Greeks and Romans, that to live a single Life was almost criminal amongst them: Nay, was indeed so at last among the Romans, and punished pretty severely; and, in my Opinion, is not to be excused, unless where a Man, in a single State, may be more serviceable to his Country, than if he were to marry.

cerent; contràque, Calliſtratus Athenienſium legatus, qui eloquentiâ omnes eo præſtabat tempore, poſtularet, ut potiùs amicitiam ſequerentur Atticorum, & in oratione ſuâ multa invectus eſſet in Thebanos & Argivos, in eiſque hoc poſuiſſet, Animadvertere debere Arcadas, quales utraque civitas cives procreâſſet, ex quibus de cæteris poſſet judicare: Argivos enim fuiſſe Oreſtem & Alcmæonem, matricidas: Thebis Œdipum natum, qui cùm patrem ſuum interfeciſſet, ex matre liberos procreâſſet: Hìc in reſpondendo Epaminondas, quum de cæteris perorâſſet, poſtquam ad illa duo opprobria pervenit, admirari ſe dixit ſtultitiam rhetoris Attici, qui non animadverteret, innocentes illos natos, domi ſcelere admiſſo, quum patriâ eſſent pulſi, receptos eſſe ab Athenienſibus. Sed maximè ejus eloquentia eluxit Spartæ, legati ante pugnam Leuctricam; quo quum omnium ſociorum conveniſſent legati, coram frequentiſſimo legationum conventu, ſic Lacedæmoniorum tyrannidem coarguit, ut non minùs illâ oratione opes eorum concuſſerit, quàm Leuctricâ pugnâ. Tum enim perfecit, quod pòſt apparuit ut auxilio

*Thebans and the Argives; and on the other hand Calliſtratus, Ambaſſador of the Athenians, who excelled all in Eloquence at that Time, deſired that they would rather follow the Alliance of the Athenians, and inveighed much in his Speech againſt the Thebans and the Argives, and put this in amongſt other Things, That the Arcadians ought to obſerve what Sort of Citizens each City had produced, by which they might judge of the reſt; for Oreſtes and Alcmæon, Murderers of their Mothers, were Argives, and OEdipus was born at Thebes; who, after he had killed his Father, had Children by his Mother: Here Epaminondas, in his Anſwer, after he had ſpoken to other Points, when he was come to thoſe two Reproaches, ſaid, That he admired the Folly of the Athenian Rhetorician, who did not conſider that they were born innocent,* and *having committed their Wickedneſs at Home, after they were baniſhed their Country were entertained by the Athenians. But his Eloquence ſhined the moſt at Sparta,* when he was *Ambaſſadour before the Battle of * Leuctra; where when the Ambaſſadours of all the Allies had met, before a full Aſſembly of the Embaſſies, he did ſo make appear the Tyranny of the Lacedemonians, that he ſhook their Power no leſs by that Speech, than by the Battle of Leuctra.*

* A City of Laconia in Peloponneſus.

auxilio ſociorum Lacedæmonii privarentur.

CAP. VII. Fuiſſe autem patientem, ſuorumque injurias ferentem civium, quòd ſe patriæ iraſci nefas eſſe duceret, hæc ſunt teſtimonia. Quum eum propter invidiam cives præficere exercitui noluiſſent, duxque eſſet delectus belli imperitus, cujus errore eò eſſet deducta illa res militum, ut omnes de ſalute pertimeſcerent, quòd locorum anguſtiis clauſi, ab hoſtibus obſidebantur: deſiderari cœpta eſt Epaminondæ diligentia; erat enim ibi privatus numero militum: A quo quum peterent opem, nullam adhibuit memoriam contumeliæ, & exercitum, obſidione liberatum, domum reduxit incolumem. Neque verò hoc ſemel fecit, ſed ſæpius. Maximè autem fuit illuſtre, quum in Peloponneſum exercitum duxiſſet adverſus Lacedæmonios, haberetque collegas duos, quorum alter erat Pelopidas, vir fortis ac ſtrenuus. Hîc, quum criminibus adverſariorum omnes in invidiam veniſſent, ob eamque rem imperium his eſſet abrogatum, atque in eorum locum alii prætores ſucceſſiſſent; Epaminondas plebiſcito non paruit; idemque ut facerent, perſuaſit collegis, & bellum quod

*tra. For then he effected what afterwards appeared, that the Lacedæmonians were deprived of the Aſſiſtance of their Allies.*

CHAP. VII. *But that he was patient, and bore with the Injuries of his Countrymen, becauſe he thought it a Crime to be angry with his Country, there are theſe Proofs. When his Countrymen, out of ill Nature to him, would not place him at the Head of their Army, and a General was choſen that was unſkilled in War, by whoſe Miſtake the Army was brought to that Paſs, that all were much concerned about their Safety, becauſe that being enclоſed within a narrow Place, they were beſieged by the Enemy; the Diligence of Epaminondas began to be miſſed; for he was there as a private Man amongſt the Soldiers: From whom when they deſired Help, he had no Regard to the Affront* put upon him, *and carried the Army, delivered out of this Strait, ſafely Home. Nor indeed did he do that once only, but often. But that was the moſt remarkable, when he led an Army into Peloponneſus againſt the Lacedæmonians, and had two joined in Commiſſion with him, one of which was Pelopidas, a gallant and an active Man. Here, when they were all come under the Odium* of their Countrymen, *by the Accuſations of their Enemies, and for that Reaſon their Commiſſion was taken from them, and other Commanders ſucceeded*

in

quod ſuſceperat, geſſit. Namque animadvertebat, ubi id feciſſet, totum exercitum propter prætorum imprudentiam inſcitiamque belli periturum. Lex erat Thebis, quæ morte mulctabat, ſi quis imperium diùtius retinuiſſet, quam lege præfinitum foret. Hanc Epaminondas quum reipublicæ conſervandæ cauſâ latam videret, ad perniciem civitatis conferre noluit; & quatuor menſibus diutiùs, quam populus jufſerat, geſſit imperium.

*in their Place: Epaminondas did not obey the Order of the People, and perſuaded his Colleagues to do the ſame, and carried on the War which he had undertaken. For he was ſenſible, * unleſs he did ſo, that the whole Army would be loſt, by Reaſon of the Unſkilfulneſs of the Generals, and their Ignorance in War. There was a Law at Thebes, which puniſhed with Death, if any one kept his Commiſſion longer than was preſcribed by Law. As Epaminondas ſaw that this was made upon Account of preſerving the State, he would not turn it to the Ruin of his Country; and kept his Command four Months longer than the People had ordered.*

Cap. VIII. Poſtquam domum reditum eſt, collegæ ejus hoc crimine accuſabantur: quibus ille permiſit, ut omnem cauſam in ſe transferrent, ſuâque operâ factum contenderent, ut legi non obedirent. Quâ defenſione illis periculo liberatis, nemo Epaminondam reſponſurum putabat; quòd quid diceret non haberet. At ille in judicium venit, nihil eorum negavit quæ adverſarii crimini dabant, omniaque quæ collegæ dixerant confeſſus eſt; neque recuſavit, quo minus legis pœnam

Chap. VIII. *After they were returned Home, his Fellow Commiſſioners were impeached for this Crime, to whom he gave Leave to lay all the Blame upon him, and ſtand to it that it was occaſioned by his Means, that they did not obey the Law. By which Defence, they being delivered from Danger, no-body thought Epaminondas would make any Anſwer for himſelf; becauſe he could not have any thing to ſay. But he came to his Trial, denied none of thoſe Things which his Enemies laid to his Charge, and confeſſed all Things that his Colleagues had ſaid; nor did he refuſe to undergo*

T *the*

* It is in the Latin, *ubi*, without any Senſe. It ſeems to me undeniable it ſhould be *niſi*.

pœnam ſubiret; ſed unum ab iis petivit, ut in periculo ſuo conſcriberent; Epaminondas à Thebanis morte mulctatus eſt, quod eos coëgit apud Leuctra ſuperare Lacedæmonios; quos ante ſe imperatorem, nemo Bœotiorum auſus fuit aſpicere in acie: quodque uno prœlio non ſolùm Thebas ab interitu retraxit, ſed etiam univerſam Græciam in libertatem vindicavit; coque res utrorumque perduxit, ut Thebani Spartam oppugnarent, Lacedæmonii ſatis haberent ſi ſalvi eſſe poſſent: neque prius bellare deſtitit, quam, Meſſenâ conſtitutâ, urbem eorum obſidione clauſit. Hæc quum dixiſſet, riſus omnium cum hilaritate coortus eſt; neque quiſquam judex auſus eſt ferre ſuffragium.

*the Puniſhment of the Law: But one Thing he requeſted of them that they would write upon his* * *Tomb*; *Epaminondas was put to Death by the Thebans, becauſe he forced them to beat the Lacedemonians at Leuctra*; *whom, before he was General, none of the Beotians durſt look at in the Field*; *and becauſe he not only delivered Thebes from Deſtruction by one Battle, but likewiſe reſtored all Greece to their Liberty, and brought the Affairs of both People to that Paſs, that the Thebans attacked Sparta, and the Lacedemonians were content, if they could be ſecure*; *nor did he ceaſe to make War* upon them, *before, the State of* † *Meſſena being ſettled, he penned up their City by a* cloſe *Siege. After he had ſaid this, there burſt out a Laughter of all* preſent, *with a* deal *of Merriment*; *nor durſt any Judge paſs Sentence upon him.*

CAP. IX. Sic à judicio capitis maximâ diſceſſit gloriâ. Hic, extremo tempore, imperator apud Matineam, quum acie inſtructâ audaciùs inſtaret hoſtibus, cognitus à Lacedæmoniis, quòd in ejus unius pernicie patriæ ſitam putabant

CHAP. IX. *Thus he came off from this Trial for Life with the greateſt Glory. He at the latter End of his Time, being General at* ‡ *Mantinea, when he preſſed very boldly upon the Enemies with his Army in Battalia, being known by the Lacedemonians, becauſe they*

* Though ſome pretend to defend the vulgar Reading here, *periculo*; yet I cannot forbear thinking it to be a Miſtake for *ſepulchro*, or ſome other Word of like Import.

† A Country of Peloponneſus, bordering upon Laconia to the Weſtward.

‡ A City of Arcadia in Peloponneſus.

putabant ſalutem, univerſi in unum impetum fecerunt neque priùs abſceſſerunt quàm magnâ cæde factâ, multiſque occiſis, fortiſſimè ipſum Epaminondam pugnantem, ſparo eminus percuſſum, concidere viderunt. Hujus caſu aliquantùm retardati ſunt Bœotii; neque tamen priùs pugnâ exceſſerunt, quam repugnantes profligârunt. At Epaminondas, quum animadverteret mortiferum ſe vulnus accepiſſe, ſimulque, ſi ferrum, quod ex haſtili in corpore remanſerat, extraxiſſet, animam ſtatim amiſſurum; uſque eò retinuit, quoad renunciatum eſt, Viciſſe Bœotios. Id poſtquam audivit, ſatis, inquit, vixi; invictus enim morior. Tum ferro extracto, confeſtim exanimatus eſt.

*they thought the Saving of their Country depended upon the Deſtruction of him alone, they all made an Attack upon him only: nor did they depart, till having made a great Slaughter, and killed many, they ſaw Epaminondas himſelf, fighting very valiantly, fall wounded with a Lance at a Diſtance. The Beotians were a little retarded by his Fall; neither yet did they quit the Fight, before they routed thoſe that oppoſed them. But Epaminondas, after he perceived he had received a mortal Wound, and likewiſe, that if he drew out the Head of the Spear, which remained in his Body, he ſhould immediately loſe his Life; he kept it in ſo long, till it was told him, That the Beotians had conquered. After he heard that, I have lived, ſays he,* long *enough; for I die unconquered. Then the Iron* Head *being drawn out, he immediately died.*

Cap. X. Hic uxorem nunquam duxit; in quo quum reprehenderetur à Pelopidâ, qui filium habebat infamem; malèque eum in eo patriæ conſulere diceret, quòd liberos non relinqueret: Vide, inquit, ne tu pejus conſulas, qui talem ex te natum relicturus ſis. Neque vero ſtirps mihi poteſt deeſſe; namque ex me natam relinquo pugnam Leuctricam, quæ non modò mihi ſuperſtes, ſed etiam immortalis ſit, neceſſe eſt. Quo tempore, duce Pelopidâ, exules Thebas occupaverunt, & preſidium

Chap. X. *He never married a Wife; for which, when he was blamed by Pelopidas, who had an infamous Son; and ſaid, that he did but ill conſult* the Intereſt of *his Country, in that he left no Children; Conſider, ſays he, whether you do not worſe conſult the* Intereſt of your Country, *who are likely to leave ſuch a Son. But neither can I want Iſſue; for I leave a Daughter, the Battle of Leuctra, which muſt needs not only ſurvive me, but be immortal. At the Time when the baniſhed Thebans ſeized Thebes, with Pelopidas their Commander, and*

dium Lacedæmoniorum ex arce expulerunt; Epaminondas, quàm diu facta est cædes civium, domi se retinuit; quòd neque malos defendere volebat, neque impugnare, ne manus suorum sanguine cruentaret: Namque omnem civilem victoriam funestam putabat. Idemque, postquam apud Cadmeam pugnari cum Lacedæmoniis cœpit, in primis steterit. Hujus de virtutibus vitâque satis erit dictum, si hoc unum adjunxero, quod nemo erat inficias: Thebas, & ante Epaminondam natum, & post ejusdem interritum, perpetuo alieno paruisse imperio: contra ea, quamdiu ille præfuerit reipublicæ, caput fuisse totius Græciæ. Ex quo intelligi potest, unum hominem pluris quam civitatem fuisse.

*drove the Garrison of the Lacedæmonians out of the Citadel; Epaminondas, so long as the Slaughter was made amongst the Citizens, kept himself at home, because he neither had a Mind to defend the bad Party, nor attack them, that he might not imbrue his Hands in the Blood of his Countrymen: For he thought all Victory gained over Fellow Citizens very dismal. And the same Man, after they began to engage at Cadmea with the Lacedemonians, stood amongst the foremost. Enough will be said of his Virtues and Life, if I add this one Thing, which nobody can deny: That Thebes, both before Epaminondas* was *born, and after his Death, was always subject to a foreign Power; on the other Hand so long as he governed the Commonwealth, it was the Head of all Greece. From whence it may be understood that one Man* alone *was more worth than* all *the* whole *City* besides.

XVI.

# PELOPIDAS, Thebanus.

CAP. I.

PElopidas Thebanus, magìs hiſtoriis, quàm vulgo notus. Cujus de virtutibus dubito quemadmodum exponam: quòd vereor, ſi res explicare incipiam, non vitam ejus enarrare, ſed hiſtoriam videar ſcribere; ſi tantummodo ſummas attigero, ne rudibus literarum Græcarum minùs lucidè appareat, quantus fuerit ille vir. Itaque utrique rei occurram, quantùm potero, & medebor cùm ſatietati, tum ignorantiæ, lectorum. Phœbidas Lacedæmonius quum exercitum Olynthum duceret, iterque per Thebas faceret, arcem oppidi, quæ Cadmea nominatur, occupavit, impulſu perpaucorum Thebanorum; qui adverſariæ factioni quo faciliùs reſiſterent, Laconum rebus ſtudebant: Idque ſuo privato

XVI.

# PELOPIDAS, the Theban.

CHAP. I.

*PElopidas the Theban is better known to* * *Hiſtorians, than to the Vulgar. Concerning whoſe Excellencies I am in Doubt, how I ſhall write; becauſe I am afraid, if I ſhould begin to unravel his Actions, I ſhould ſeem not to recount his Life, but to write a Hiſtory; if I only touch upon the moſt conſiderable*, I fear, *leſt it ſhould leſs plainly appear to thoſe* that are *ignorant of the Greek Tongue how great a Man he was. Wherefore I will provide againſt both Things, as much as I can, and prevent both the Glut and Ignorance of my Readers. When Phœbidas the Lacedemonian was leading an Army to Olynthus, and made his March by Thebes, he ſeized the Citadel of the Town, which is called Cadmea, at the Inſtigation of a few Thebans, who, that they might the more eaſily reſiſt the oppoſite Faction, favoured*

* The common Reading is *Hiſtoriis*; but I am of the learned Schottus's Opinion, that it ſhould be *Hiſtoricis*, and accordingly I have tranſlated it.

privato, non publico fecit consilio. Quo facto, eum Lacedæmonii ab exercitu removerunt, pecuniâque mulctarunt: neque eò magis arcem Thebanis reddiderunt, quòd, susceptis inimicitiis satiùs ducebant eos obsideri, quam liberari. Nam post Peloponnesium bellum Athenasque devictas, cum Thebanis sibi rem esse existimabant; & eos esse solos, qui adversùs resistere auderent. Hâc mente, amicis suis summas potestates dederant; alterius factionis principes partim interfecerant, alios in exilium ejecerant; in quibus Pelopidas hic, de quo scribere exorsi sumus, pulsus, patriâ carebat.

*favoured the Interest of the Lacedemonians: And that he did upon his own private, and not on any publick Resolution* of the Spartans. *Upon which Fact the Lacedemonians removed him from* his Post in *the Army, and fined him* a Sum of *Money; nor did they for all that restore the Citadel to the Thebans, because, a Quarrel being* now *begun, they thought it better that they should be under a Check, than at Liberty: For after the Peloponnesian War, and the Conquest of Athens, they supposed they must have to do with the Thebans; and that they were the only* People *who durst make Opposition against* them. *With these Sentiments, they had delivered the highest Post to their Friends, the leading Men of the other Faction they had partly killed,* and *partly turned out into Banishment: Amongst whom this Pelopidas, of whom we have undertaken to write, was banished his Country.*

CAP. II. Hi omnes ferè Athenas se contulerant, non quò sequerentur otium, sed ut, quemcunque ex proximo locum fors obtulisset, eo patrium recuperare niterentur. Itaque, quum tempus est visum rei gerendæ, communiter cum his, qui Thebis idem sentiebant, diem delegerunt, ad inimicos opprimendos, civitatemque liberandam, eum, quo maximi magistratus simul consueverunt epulari. Magnæ sæpe res

CHAP. II. *Almost all these had betaken themselves to Athens, not that they might lead an idle Life, but that whatsoever Place in the Neighbourhood Fortune offered them, they might endeavour from thence to recover their Country. Wherefore, when it* now *seemed Time to enter upon the Business, they pitched upon a Day jointly with those who at Thebes had the same Sentiments, to fall upon their Enemies, and free the City, the very Day upon which the chief Magistrates were used*

res non ita magnis copiis ſunt geſtæ: ſed profectò nunquam ab tam tenui initio tantæ opes ſunt profligatæ. Nam duodecim adoleſcentuli coiêrunt, ex his qui exilio erant mulctati, quum omnino non eſſent ampliùs centum, qui tanto ſe offerrent periculo; quâ paucitate perculſa eſt Lacedæmoniorum potentia. Hi enim non magìs adverſariorum factioni, quàm Spartanis, eo tempore bellum intulerunt, qui principes erant totius Græciæ: quorum imperioſa majeſtas, neque ita multò pòſt, Leuctricâ pugnâ, ab hoc initio perculſa, cecidit. Illi igitur doudecim, quorum erat dux Pelopidas, quum Athenis interdiu exîſſent, ut veſperaſcente cœlo Thebas poſſent pervenire, cum canibus venaticis exiêrunt, retia ferentes veſtitu agreſti, quò minore ſuſpicione facerent iter. Qui quum tempore ipſo, quo ſtuduerant, proveniſſent, domum Charonis devenerunt, à quo & tempus & dies erat datus.

*uſed to feaſt together. Great Things have been oftentimes performed by no great Forces; but indeed never ſo great a Power was defeated from ſo ſmall a Beginning. For twelve young Men, of thoſe who had been puniſhed with Baniſhment, agreed, when they were not above an Hundred that offered themſelves to ſo great a Danger; with which ſmall Number the Power of the Lacedemonians was overthrown. For theſe made Wars, not more upon the Faction of their Adverſaries than upon the Spartans at that Time, who were the Lords of all Greece: Whoſe imperious Grandeur, ſhocked from this Beginning, fell not long after in the Battle of Leuctra. Wherefore thoſe Twelve, whoſe Leader was Pelopidas, having gone out of Athens in the Day-Time, that they might reach Thebes when the Heavens grew dark, went out with Hounds, carrying Nets, in a Country Dreſs, that they might make their Journey with the leſs Suſpicion. Who, having come* thither *at the Time which they had intended, went to Charon's Houſe, by whom the* * *Day had been fixed.*

Cap. III. Hoc loco libet interponere, etſi ſejunctum à re propoſita eſt, Nimia fiducia quantæ calamitati ſoleat eſſe: Nam magiſtratuum

Chap. III. *In this Place I have a Fancy to inſert a* Remark, *altho' it be foreign to our Subject: How great a Miſchief an exceſſive Aſſurance uſes to be: For it immediately*

* The Text ſeems to be faulty here; there can, I think, be no Occaſion for *Tempus* and *Dies* both.

ruum Thebanorum ſtatim ad aures pervenit, Exules in urbem deveniſſe. Id illi, vino epuliſque dediti, uſque eò deſpexerunt, ut ne quærere quidem de tantâ re laborarint. Acceſſit, etiam, quòd magis aperiret eorum dementiam: Allata eſt enim epiſtola Athenis, ab Archiâ Hierophante, Archiæ, qui tum maximum magiſtratum Thebis obtinebat; in quâ omnia de protectione exulum preſcripta erant: Quæ quum jam accubanti in convivio eſſet data, ſicut erat ſignata, in pulvinum ſubjiciens; In craſtinum, inquit, differo res ſeveras. At illi omnes, quum jam nox proceſſiſſet vinolenti, ab exulibus, duce Pelopidâ, ſunt interfecti. Quibus rebus confectis, vulgo ad arma libertatemque vocato, non ſolum qui in urbem erant, ſed etiam undique ex agris concurrerunt; præſidium Lacedæmoniorum ex arce pepulerunt; patriam obſidione liberaverunt: Auctores Cadmeæ occupandæ partim occiderunt, partim in exilio ejecerunt.

*immediately came to the Ears of the Theban Magiſtrates, that* ſome of the *Exiles were come to Town: That, they, intent upon their Wine and good Cheer, ſo far deſpiſed, that they did not truly trouble themſelves to inquire about ſo important a Matter. There was another Thing too, which diſcovered their Madneſs ſtill the more. For a Letter was brought from Athens, from Archias an * Hierophantes, to Archias, who then had the chief Poſt of Authority at Thebes; in which all Things had been written concerning the Departure of the Exiles* from thence: *Which being given to him as † he ſat at the Feaſt, putting it as it was, ſealed under his Pillow; I put off, ſays he, all ſerious Affairs till To-morrow: But they all, when now the Night was pretty far advanced, being drunk, were ſlain by the Exiles, under their Leader Pelopidas. Which Things being done, and the common People invited to Arms and Liberty, not only thoſe who were in the Town, but likewiſe* others *from all Parts out of the Country, flocked in* to them; *drove the Garriſon of the Lacedemonians out of the Citadel; and delivered their Country from that Bridle. They partly put*

CAP.

* *Hierophantes* is explained by ſome to be a Keeper of the holy Trinkets belonging to the Gods.

† The Latin Word properly ſignifies *lying at*, or *by*, which was the Poſture uſed by the Ancients at Tables, about which they commonly had three Beds placed, on the Sides of which they lay, with their Backs ſupported by Pillows.

*put to Death the Advisers of seizing the Cadmea, and partly drove them out into Banishment.*

Cap. IV. Hoc tam turbido tempore (sicut suprà docuimus) Epaminondas, quoad cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit: Itaque hæc liberandarum Thebarum propria laus est Pelopidæ; cæteræ ferè omnes communes cum Epaminondâ. Namque in Leuctricâ pugnâ, imperatore Epaminondâ, hic fuit dux delectæ manûs, quæ prima phalangem prostravit Laconum. Omnibus præterea periculis affuit: sicut Spartam quum oppugnavit, alterum tenuit cornu: quòque Messèna celeriùs restitueretur, legatus in Persas est profectus. Denique hæc fuit altera persona Thebis, sed tamen secunda, ita ut proxima esset Epaminondæ.

Chap. IV. *During this turbulent Time (as we have told you before) Epaminondas, so long as they were engaged with their Fellow Citizens, was quiet at Home; wherefore the Glory of delivering Thebes is proper to Pelopidas: Almost all his other* glorious Actions *were common* to him *with Epaminondas. For in the Battle of Leuctra,* where *Epaminondas was General, he was the Commander of a select Body of* Troops, *which first* of all *broke the Phalanx of the Lacedemonians. Besides, he was present* with him *in all his Dangers; as, when he attacked Sparta, he commanded one Wing; and that Messena might be more expeditiously restored, he went Ambassador amongst the Persians. Finally this was another* considerable *Actor at Thebes, but yet a second, so that he was next to Epaminondas.*

Cap. V. Conflictatus autem est cum adversâ fortunâ; nam & initio (sicut ostendimus) exul patriâ caruit; &, quum Thessaliam in potestatem Thebanorum cuperet redigere, legationisque jure satìs tectum se arbitraretur, quod apud omnes gentes sanctum esse consuêsset, à tyranno Alexandro Pheræo, simul cum Ismeniâ, comprehensus,

Chap. V. *Yet he met with adverse Fortune; for he was early banished (as we have shown;) and being desirous to reduce Thessaly under the Power of the Thebans, and, thinking himself sufficiently secured by the Right of an Embassy, which used to be sacred among all Nations, he was seized, together with Ismenias, by Alexander, the Tyrant of* * *Pheræ, and thrown into Chains. Epami-*

U *nondas*

* A City in that Part of Thessaly called Pelasgiotis.

henſus, in vincula conjectus eſt. Hunc Epaminondas recuperavit, bello perſequens Alexandrum. Poſt id factum, nunquam is animo placari potuit in eum, à quo erat violatus: Itaque perſuaſit Thebanis, ut ſubſidio Theſſaliæ proficiſcerentur, tyrannoſque ejus expellerent. Cujus belli quum ei ſumma eſſet data, eòque cum exercitu profectus eſſet, non dubitavit, ſimul ac conſpexit hoſtem, confligere. In quo prælio, Alexandrum ut animadvertit, incenſus irâ, equum in eum concitavit, proculque digreſſus à ſuis, conjectu telorum confoſſus cecidit. Atque hoc ſecundâ victoriâ accidit: nam jam inclinatæ erant tyrannorum copiæ. Quo facto, omnes Theſſaliæ civitates interfectum Pelopidam coronis aureis, & ſtatuis æneis, liberoſque ejus multo agro donaverunt.

*nondas recovered him, falling upon Alexander in War. After that Fact, he could never be reconciled in his Mind to him by whom he had been injured: Wherefore he perſuaded the Thebans to go to the Relief of Theſſaly, and drive out the Tyrants thereof. When the chief Command in that War had been given to him, and he was come thither with his Army, he did not delay to engage, as ſoon as he ſaw the Enemy. In which Battle, when he ſpied Alexander, being fired with Rage, he ſpurred on his Horſe againſt him, and being gone a good Way from his* Men, *he fell down killed with the Diſcharge of Weapons* at him: *And this happened* when *Victory was favourable* to him: *For the Tyrants Troops were now ready to flee. After which, all the Cities of Theſſaly* honoured *the ſlain Pelopidas with golden Crowns, and brazen Statues, and preſented his Children with a great deal of Land.*

XVII. *AGESILAUS,*

## XVII.

## AGESILAUS, Lacedæmonius.

### Cap. I.

AGesilaus Lacedæmonius, cùm à cæteris scriptoribus, tum eximiè à Xenophonte Socratico collaudatus est; eo enim usus est familiarissimè. Hic primùm de regno cum Leotychide, fratris filio, habuit contentionem. Mos est enim à majoribus Lacedæmoniis traditus, ut duos haberent semper reges, nomine magìs quàm imperio ex duabus familiis Proclis & Euristhenis, qui principes ex progenie Herculis, Spartæ reges fuerunt. Harum ex alterâ in alterius familiæ locum fieri non licebat: itaque uterque suum retinebat ordinem. Primùm, ratio habebatur, qui maximus natu esset ex liberis ejus, qui regnans decessisset: Sin is virilem sexum non reliquisset, tunc eligebatur qui proximus esset propinquitate. Mortuus erat Agis rex, frater Agesilai: filium reliquerat Leotychidem, quem ille vivens non agnôrat; eundem, moriens, suum esse dixerat.

## XVII.

## AGESILAUS, the Lacedemonian.

### Chap. I.

*AGesilaus the Lacedemonian has been commended as well by other Writers, as by Xenophon the Socratick* Philosopher *extraordinarily; for he was very intimate with him. He first* of all *had a Dispute with Leotychides, his Brother's Son, for the Kingdom. For it is a Custom delivered to the Lacedemonians by their Forefathers, to have always two Kings, in Name rather than Authority, of the two Families of Procles and Eurysthenes, who, first of* all *the Progeny of Hercules, were Kings of Sparta. It was not lawful* for a King *to be made out of one of these, in the room of the other Family: Wherefore each kept its Rank. First, Regard was had to him that was the eldest of the Sons of him who died King: But if he left no Male Issue, then he was chosen that was the next akin. King Agis, the Brother of Agesilaus, was dead: He had left a Son, Leotychides* by Name, *whom he,* when *alive, had not owned* for his; but *when dying, he had said that he was his. He con-*

erat. Is de honore regni cum Ageſilao ſuo patruo contendit; neque id quod petivit conſecutus eſt; nam Lyſandro ſuffragante, homine, ut oſtendimus ſupra, factioſo, & his temporibus potente, Ageſilaus antelatus eſt.

*tended for the Honour of the Kingdom with his Uncle Ageſilaus; nor did he get what he ſought for; for Ageſilaus was preferred before him, Lyſander making Intereſt for him; a Man (as we have ſhown above) of conſiderable Sway, and powerful at that Time.*

CAP. II. Hic ſimul atque imperii potitus eſt, perſuadet Lacedæmoniis ut exercitum emitterent in Aſiam, bellumque regi facerent, docens, ſatius eſſe in Aſiâ, quàm in Europâ dimicare: namque fama exierat Artaxerxem comparare claſſem, pedeſtreſque exercitus, quos in Greciam mitteret. Datâ poteſtate, tantâ celeritate uſus eſt, ut priùs in Aſiam cum copiis perveneriſ, quàm regii ſatrapæ eum ſentirent profectum; quo factum eſt, ut omnes imparatos imprudenteſque offenderet. Id ut cognovit Tiſſaphernes, qui ſummum imperium tum inter præfectos habebat regios, inducias à Lacone petivit, ſimulans ſe dare operam, ut Lacedæmoniis cum rege conveniret; re autem verâ, ad copias comparandas; eaſque impetravit trimeſtres. Juravit autem uterque, ſe ſine dolo inducias conſervaturum: In quâ pactione, ſummâ fide manſit Ageſilaus. Contra ea, Tiſſaphernes nihil aliud quàm bellum comparavit. Id etſi ſentiebat Laco, tamen jusjurandum ſervabat,

CHAP. II. *He, as ſoon as he got the Kingdom, perſuaded the Lacedemonians, that they ſhould ſend an Army into Aſia, and make War upon the King, telling them that it was better to fight in Aſia than Europe; for a Rumour was got Abroad, that Artaxerxes was fitting out a Fleet, and raiſing Land Forces to ſend into Greece. Leave being granted him, he made Uſe of ſo much Expedition, that he came into Aſia with his Troops, before the King's Viceroys knew that he was ſet forward; from whence it was that he found them all unprovided, and unaware of him. As ſoon as Tiſſaphernes underſtood it, who had then the greateſt Power amongſt the King's Governors, he deſired a Truce of the Lacedemonian, pretending, that he would do his Endeavour that the Lacedemonians ſhould agree with the King; but indeed to raiſe Troops; and he obtained it for three Months. But each of them ſwore, that he would obſerve the Truce without Fraud: In which Agreement, Ageſilaus continued with the greateſt Punctualneſs. On the other Hand, Tiſſaphernes did nothing elſe but levy War, Altho'*

vabat, multùmque in eo consequi se dicebat, quòd Tissaphernes perjurio suo & homines suis rebus abalienaret, & deos sibi iratos redderet: se autem, servatâ religione, confirmare exercitum, quum animadverteret, deorum numen facere secum, hominesque sibi conciliari amiciores, quòd his studere consuêssent, quos conservare fidem viderent.

*Altho the Lacedemonian perceived that, yet he kept his Oath, and said that he got much by it, because Tissaphernes both alienated Men from his Interest, and made the Gods angry with him by his Perjury: but that he, by keeping his Oath, encouraged his Army, since they observed, that the Power of the Gods was for them; and Men were made more Friends to them, because they were accustomed to favour those whom they observed to keep their Faith.*

Cap. III. Postquam induciarum præteriit dies, barbarus non dubitans, quòd ipsius erant plurima domicilia in Cariâ, & ea regio his temporibus multò putabatur locupletissima, eò potissimum hostes impetum facturos, omnes suas copias eò contraxerat. At Agesilaus in Phrygiam se convertit, eamque prius depopulatus est, quam Tissaphernes usquam se moveret. Magna præda militibus locupletatis, Ephesum hyematum exercitum reduxit; atque ibi, officinis armorum institutis, magnâ industriâ bellum apparavit. Et quò studiosiùs armarentur, insigniùsque ornarentur, præmia proposuit, quibus donarentur, quorum egregia in eâ re fuisset industria. Fecit idem in exercitationum generibus, ut qui cæteris præstitissent, eos magnis afficeret muneribus. His igitur rebus effecit, ut & ornatissimum & exercitatissimum haberet exercitum.

Huic

Chap. III. *After the Time of the Truce was expired, the Barbarian not doubting, because he had a great many Seats in Caria, and that Country was thought* to be *far the richest at that Time; that the Enemies would make their Inroads there chiefly, had drawn all his Troops thither. But Agesilaus turns into Phrygia, and wasted that, before Tissaphernes could stir any whither. Having enriched his Soldiers with abundance of Plunder, he drew back his Army to Ephesus to winter; and there having set up Forges for Arms, he prepared for War with great Industry. And that* his Troops *might be the more carefully armed, and more finely adorned, he proposed Rewards, with which they should be presented whose Industry was extraordinary in that Matter. He did the same in* all *Sorts of Exercises, that them, who excelled the rest, he honoured with great Presents. By these means therefore he effected that he had his Army both*

Huic quum tempus esset visum copias extrahere ex hybernaculis, vidit si, quo esset iter facturus, palam pronunciâsset, hostes non credituros, aliasque regiones occupaturos, nec dubitaturos, aliud esse factum ac pronunciâsset; Itaque, quum ille Sardeis se iturum dixisset, Tissaphernes eandem Cariam defendendam putavit. In quo quum eum opinio fefellisset, victumque se vidisset consilio, serò suis præsidio profectus est. Nam, quum illò venisset, jam Agesilaus, multis locis expugnatis, magnâ erat prædâ potitus. Laco autem, quum videret hostes equitatu superare, nunquam in campo sui fecit potestatem, & his locis manu conseruit, quibus plùs pedestres copiæ valerent. Pepulit ergo, quotiescunque congressus est, multo majores adversariorum copias; & sic in Asiâ versatus est, ut omnium opinione victor duceretur.

*both very well furnished* with all Things, *and very well exercised. As soon as it appeared to him Time to draw his Troops out of their Winter-Quarters, he saw, that if he declared openly whither he was going to march, the Enemies would not believe it, and would take Care of other Parts, and would not doubt that he would do quite another Thing than what he gave out: Wherefore, when he had declared, That he would march for Sardeis, Tissaphernes thought that the same* Country of *Caria ought to be defended by him. In which Matter when his Opinion had deceived him, and he saw himself outwitted, he came too late for the Protection of his* Subjects. *For when he was come thither, Agesilaus, having already taken many Places, had got Abundance of Plunder. But the Lacedemonian, seeing the Enemy exceeded* him *in Horse, never gave them an Opportunity of* fighting *him in the Plain, and engaged in those Places, in which Foot would be of most Service. Wherefore he routed a much bigger Army of the Enemies, as oft as he fought* them; *and behaved so in Asia, that he was reckoned the Conqueror in all People's Opinion.*

CAP. IV. Hic quum animo meditaretur proficisci in Persas, & ipsum regem adoriri; nuncius ei domo venit ephorûm jussu, bellum Athenienses & Bœotios indixisse Lacedæmoniis: quare venire non dubitaret. In hoc, non minùs

CHAP. IV. *Whilst he was proposing in* his own *Mind to march into* the Country of *the Persians, and attack the King himself; a Messenger came to him from Home, by the Order of the Ephori,* to tell him, *that the Athenians and the Beotians had proclaimed*

minùs ejus pietatis ſuſpicienda eſt, quam virtus bellica: qui quum victori præeſſet exercitui, maximamque haberet fiduciam regni Perſarum potiundi; tantâ modeſtiâ dicto audiens fuit juſſis abſentium magiſtratuum, ut ſi privatus in comitio eſſet Spartæ. Cujus exemplum utinam imperatores noſtri ſequi voluiſſent! Sed illùc redeamus. Ageſilaus opulentiſſimo regno præpoſuit bonam exiſtimationem, multòque glorioſius duxit, ſi inſtitutis patriæ paruiſſet, quàm ſi bello ſuperâſſet Aſiam. Hâc igitur mente Helleſpontum copias trajecit, tantâque uſus eſt celeritate, ut quod iter Xerxes anno vertente confecerat, hic tranſiêrit triginta diebus. Quum jam haud longè abeſſet à Peloponneſo, obſiſtere ei conati ſunt Athenienſes & Bœotii, cæterique eorum ſocii apud Coroneam, quos omnes gravi prœlio vicit. Hujus victoriæ vel maxima fuit laus, quòd quum plerique ex fugâ ſe in templum Minervæ conjeciſſent, quæreturque ab eo, Quid his fieri vellet? etſi aliquot vulnera acceperat eo prœlio, & iratus videbatur omnibus, qui adverſus

*proclaimed War againſt the Lacedemonians; for which Reaſon he ſhould not delay to come* Home. *In this, his Regard to his Country is no leſs to be admired, than his warlike Bravery; who, though he commanded a victorious Army, and had a very great Aſſurance of maſtering the Kingdom of the Perſians, was, with ſo much Modeſty obedient to the Orders of the abſent Magiſtrates, as if he had been a private Perſon in the Forum of Sparta. Whoſe Example * I wiſh our Generals would have followed! But let us return to the Buſineſs. Ageſilaus preferred a good Name before the moſt wealthy Kingdom, and thought it much more glorious if he obeyed the Laws of his Country, than if he conquered Aſia in War. With this Mind therefore he drew his Forces over the Helleſpont, and uſed ſo much Expedition, that he made in thirty Days a March that Xerxes was a whole Year about. When he was now not far from Peloponneſus, the Athenians and Beotians, and the reſt of their Allies, endeavoured to oppoſe him at † Coronea; all which he conquered in a great Battle. It was the moſt commendable Thing in this Victory, that when a great many after the Rout had thrown themſelves into*

* In theſe Words our Author had a Reſpect to Julius Ceſar chiefly, who refuſed to diſband his Army at the Command of the Senate; which was the Occaſion of the Civil War, that ended in the Ruin of the Liberty and the Glory of Rome together.

† A City of Beotia.

fus arma tulerant, tamen antetulit iræ religionem, & eos vetuit violari. Neque hoc solùm in Græciâ fecit, ut templa deorum sancta haberet; sed etiam, apud barbaros, summâ religione, omnia simulacra arasque conservavit. Itaque prædicabat, Mirari se, non sacrilegorum numero haberi, qui supplicibus eorum nocuissent, aut non gravioribus pœnis affici, qui religionem minuerunt quàm qui fana spoliârint.

*into the Temple of Minerva, and it was asked him, what he would have done with them? Altho' he had received some Wounds in that Battle, and seemed angry with them all who had borne Arms against* him, *yet he preferred his Religion before* the gratifying his *Resentment, and forbade them to be hurt. Nor did he do this only in Greece, that is, treat the Temples of the Gods* as *sacred; but likewise preserved*, even *amongst the Barbarians, all the Images* of the Gods, *and Altars, with the highest Veneration. Wherefore he said, He wondered that those were not accounted in the Number of sacrilegious* Villains, *who hurt their Suppliants, or that they were not punished with more heavy Punishment, who* * *prejudiced Religion, than those who robbed Temples.*

CAP. V. Post hoc prælium, collatum est omne bellum circa Corinthum, ideoque Corinthium est appellatum. Hic, quum unâ pugnâ decem millia hostium, Agesilao duce, cecidissent, eoque facto opes adversariorum debilitatæ viderentur; tantùm abfuit ab insolentiâ gloriæ, ut commiseratus sit fortunam Græciæ, quòd tam multi à se victi, vitio adversariorum, concidissent. Namque illâ multitudine, si sana mens

CHAP. V. *After this Battle, the Whole of the War was drawn together about Corinth, and therefore was called the Corinthian* War. *Here, when Ten Thousand of the Enemy had been slain in one Battle*, wherein *Agesilaus* was *General, and the Strength of the Enemy seemed broken by that Action; he was so far from the Insolence of boasting, that he lamented the Fortune of Greece, that so many, by the Fault of the Enemies*, had been *conquered by him*, and *fallen. For with that Number*

* If these Words of our Author are capable of any good consistent Sense, I confess, for my Part, I understood them not.

mens esset Græciæ Supplicium Persas dare potuisse. Idem, quum adversarios intra mœnia compulisset, & ut Corinthum oppugnaret multi hortarentur, negavit id suæ virtuti convenire: Se enim eum esse dixit, qui ad officium peccantes redire cogeret; non qui urbes nobilissimas expugnaret Græciæ. Nam si (inquit) extinguere voluerimus qui nobiscum adversus barbaros steterunt, nosmetipsi nos expugnaverimus, illis quiescentibus; quo facto, sine negotio, quum voluerint, nos oppriment.

*Number of* Men, *the Persians might have been punished by Greece, if they had but a right Mind. The same* Man, *after he had forced the Enemies within their Walls*, and *many advised him to attack Corinth, he denied that was agreeable to his Conduct: For he said, He was one who would force offenders to return to their Duty; not take the noblest Cities of Greece: For if, says he, we have a Mind to ruin those who have sided with us against the Barbarians, we shall conquer ourselves whilst they are quiet; after which, they will, without Difficulty, subdue us when they please.*

Cap. VI. Interim accidit illa calamitas apud Leuctra Lacedæmoniis; quo ne proficisceretur quum à pleriisque ad exeundum premeretur, ut si de exitu divinaret, exire noluit. Idem, quum Epaminondas Spartam oppugnaret, effetque sine muris oppidum, talem se imperatorem præbuit, ut eo tempore omnibus apparuerit, nisi ille fuisset, Spartam futuram non fuisse, in quo quidem discrimine, celeritas ejus consilii saluti fuit universis. Nam quum quidam adolescentuli, hostium adventu perterriti, ad Thebanos transfugere vellent, & locum extra urbem editum cepissent: Agesilaus, qui perniciosissimum fore videret, si animadversum esset quenquam ad hostes transfugere con ri, cum

Chap. VI. *In the mean Time that Calamity at Leuctra befel the Lacedemonians; whither tho' he was pressed by a great many to go, as if he had had a divine Foresight of the Event, he would not go. The same* Man, *when Epaminondas attacked Sparta, and the Town was without Walls, shewed himself such a General, that at that Time it was visible to all* People, *that unless he had been* there, *Sparta would not have been* any more *In which Danger the Quickness of his Contrivance was the Preservation of* them *all. For when certain young Men, affrighted with the Approach of the Enemy, intended to run over to the Thebans, and had seized a high Place without the City; Agesilaus, who saw that that would be of the most pernicious* Consequence, *if it*

cum suis eò venit, atque, ut si bono animo fecissent, laudavit consilium eorum, quòd eum locum occupâssent, & se id quoque fieri debere animadvertisse. Sic adolescentulos simulatâ laudatione recuperavit; & adjunctis de suis comitibus, locum tutum reliquit: namque illi, aucto numero eorum, qui expertes erant consilii, commovere se non sunt ausi; eòque libentiùs, quod latere arbitrabantur, quæ cogitârant.

*should be observed, that any one endeavoured to fly over to the Enemy, came with* some of *his Men thither; and as if they had done it with a good Intention, commended their Thought, in that they had seized that Place, and that he had observed, that ought to be done. Thus he recovered the young Fellows by a pretended Commendation* of them; *and having joined some of his Attendants* with them, *he left the Place safe; for they, * their Number being increased* with those *who were acquainted with the Design, durst not stir; and* they staid *the more willingly, because they thought that what they had intended was not known.*

CAP. VII. Sine dubio, post Leuctricam pugnam, Lacedæmonii se nunquam refecerunt, neque pristinum imperium recuperârunt: quum, interim, Agesilaus non desitit quibuscunque rebus posset, patriam juvare. Nam quum præcipuè Lacedæmonii indegerent pecuniâ, ille omnibus, qui à rege defecerant, præsidio fuit; à quibus magnâ donatus pecuniâ, patriam subievavit. Atque in hoc illud imprimis fuit admirabile; quum maxima munera ei ab regibus

CHAP. VII. *Without doubt, after the Battle of Leuctra, the Lacedemonians never recovered themselves, nor regained their former Power; whilst, in the mean Time, Agesilaus did not cease to help his Country, by whatsoever Means he could. For when the Lacedemonians very much wanted Money, he was the Security of all* those *that had revolted from the King; by whom being presented with a great* Sum *of Money, he relieved his Country. And in this* Man *this was above all other Things to be admired: When very great*

* Our Author has expressed himself here improperly; For it is visible he intended what I have expressed in my Translation: But it is as visible to any attentive Reader, that his Words will not bear that Sense, nor, indeed, any good Sense at all.

regibus, & dynaſtis, civitatibuſque conferrentur, nihil unquam in domum ſuam contulit, nihil de victu, nihil de veſtitu Laconum mutavit: domo eâdem fuit contentus, quâ Euryſthenes, progenitor majorum ſuorum, fuerat uſus; quam qui intrârat, nullum ſignum libidinis, nullum luxuriæ videre poterat: contra, plurima patientiæ atque abſtinentiæ. Sic enim erat inſtructa, ut nulla in re differret à cujuſvis inopis atque privati.

*great Preſents were made him by Kings and Princes and States, he brought nothing ever to his own Home, changed nothing of the Diet and Dreſs of the Lacedæmonians: He was content with the ſame Houſe, which Euryſthenes, the Progenitor of his Forefathers, had uſed; which he that entered, could ſee no Sign of Luſt, no* Sign *of Luxury*; but, *on the other Hand, many of Hardineſs and Juſtice. For it was ſo furniſhed, that it differed in nothing from* the Houſe *of any poor and private Perſon.*

CAP. VIII. Atque hic tantus vir, ut naturam fautricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, ſic maleficam nactus eſt in corpore, exiguus, & claudus altero pede. Quæ res etiam nonnullam afferebat deformitatem: atque ignoti, faciem ejus quum intuerentur, contemnebant: qui autem virtutem noverant, non poterant admirari ſatis. Quod ei uſu venit, quum annorum octoginta ſubſidio Thaco in Ægyptum iviſſet, & in actâ cùm ſuis accubuiſſet, ſine ullo tecto, ſtratumque haberet tale, ut terra tecta eſſet ſtramentis, neque huc ampliùs quàm pellis eſſet injecta; eodemque comites omnes accubuiſſent, veſtitu humili, atque obſoleto, ut eorum ornatus non modò in his regem neminem ſignificaret; ſed hominis non beatiſſimi ſuſpicionem præberet.

CHAP. VIII. *And this ſo great a Man, as he had had Nature a Favourer* of *him, in beſtowing the Endowments of the Mind on him, ſo he found her miſchievous in his Body, being little, and lame of one Foot. Which Thing occaſioned likewiſe ſome Deformity; and Strangers, when they beheld his Perſon, deſpiſed him; but they, who knew his Ability, could not admire him ſufficiently. Which happened to him when he went, at Fourſcore Years* of Age, *into Egypt, to the Relief of Thacus, and was laid upon the Shore with his* Men, *without any Covering, and had ſuch a Convenience for lying on, that the Earth was* but *covered with Straw, and nothing more than a Skin thrown upon it; and all his Attendants* likewiſe *laid upon the ſame, in mean and threadbare Cloaths, that their Dreſs did not only ſet forth, that none amongſt them was a*

Hujus

 *King;*

Hujus de adventu fama quum ad regios esset perlata, celeriter munera eò cujusque generis sunt allata. His quærentibus Agesilaum, vix fides facta est, unum esse ex his qui tum accubabant. Qui quum regis verbis, quæ attulerant, dedissent, ille præter vitulina & hujusmodi genera obsonii, quæ præsens tempus desiderabat, nihil accepit; unguenta, coronas, secundamque mensam servis dispertit: cætera referri jussit. Quo facto eum barbari magis etiam contempserunt, quod eum ignorantiâ bonarum rerum illa potissimùm sumsisse arbitrabantur. Hic quum ex Ægypto reverteretur, donatus à rege Nectanebe ducentis viginti talentis, quæ ille muneri populo suo daret, venisset que in portum, qui Menelai vocatur, jacens inter Cyrenas & Ægyptum; in morbum implicitus decessit. Ibi eum amici quò, Spartam faciliùs

*King; but gave a Suspicion of a Person* there *not very rich. When the News of his coming was brought to the Courtiers, Presents were quickly brought him of every Kind.* * *Scarcely was a Persuasion wrought in them*, upon *enquiring for Agesilaus, that he was one of those that then lay there. Who, when they had given him in the King's Name what they had brought, took nothing but Veal, and such Sorts of Victuals which the present Occasion required; he divided the sweet Ointments, Crowns, and Sweetmeats amongst the Slaves*, and *commanded the rest to be carried back. Upon which the Barbarians despised him still the more because they thought he had made Choice of those Things out of Ignorance of what was good. When he returned from Egypt, being presented by King Nectanebes with Two Hundred* and *Twenty Talents, to give* as *a Present to his People, and was come into the Harbour which is called*

* This is, to my thinking, as pretty a Picture, as is any where to be met with in all Antiquity, and enough to give a Man a Distaste for the Vanities and Fopperies that human Life is so much cumbered and crowded with. Methinks, I see a Parcel of empty, gay, fluttering Fops, that had no Relish for any Thing truly great and good, expressing, by their Sneers and scornful Air, a Contempt for the greatest Endowments of the human Mind, because not set off with what alone they were capable of admiring; whilst the glorious Man, with a Sedateness suitable to his Grandeur, and a perfect Sense of the Folly of the sorry Animals about him, and as hearty a Contempt for their Opinion of him, satisfies the Necessities of Nature in the most proper Manner, and leaves them to sneer on.

ciliùs perferre poſſent, quòd mel non habebant, cerâ circumfuderunt, atque ita domum retulerunt.

*called Menelaus, lying betwixt * Cyrene and Egypt; falling into a Diſtemper, he died. There his Friends, that they might the more conveniently carry him to Sparta, becauſe they had no † Honey, wrapped him in Wax; and ſo brought him Home.*

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* A City of Africa, upon the Mediterranean, Weſt from Egypt.
† The Spartans made Uſe of Honey, in embalming dead Bodies.

XVIII. *EUMENES,*

## XVIII.

## *EUMENES, Cardianus.*

### CAP. I.

EUmenes Cardianus. Hujus ſi virtuti par data eſſet fortuna, non ille quidem major, ſed multò illuſtrior, atque etiam honoratior: quòd magnos homines virtute metimur, non fortunâ. Nam quum ætas ejus incidiſſet in ea tempora, quibus Macedones florerent, multùm ei detraxit, inter eos viventi, quòd alienæ erat civitatis. Neque aliud huic defuit, quàm generoſa ſtirps: etſi enim ille domeſtico ſummo genere erat, tamen Macedones eum ſibi aliquando anteponi, indignè ferebant. Neque tamen non patiebantur; vincebat enim omnes curâ, vigilantiâ, patientiâ, calliditate & celeritate ingenii. Hic, peradoleſcentulus, ad amicitiam acceſſit Philippi, Amyntæ filii, brevique tempore in intimam pervenit familiaritatem; fulgebat enim jam in adoleſcentulo indoles virtutis. Itaque eum habuit ad manum, ſcribæ loco; quod multò apud Græcos honori-

## XVIII.

## *EUMENES, the Cardian.*

### CHAP. I.

*EUmenes the Cardian. If Fortune had been allotted him equal to his great Abilities, he* would *not indeed* have been *a greater Man, but much more illuſtrious, and, likewiſe, more honourable; becauſe we meaſure great Men by their great Qualities, and not by their Fortune. For his Life having fallen in thoſe Times, in which the Macedonians flouriſhed, it took from him very much, as he lived amongſt them, that he was of a foreign Nation. Nor was any Thing elſe wanting to him, but a noble Deſcent: For though he was of the higheſt Quality at Home, yet the Macedonians took it heinouſly, that he was ſometimes preferred before them. Neither yet did they not bear with it; for he excelled them all in Care, Vigilance, Hardineſs, Subtilty, and Quickneſs of Parts. He,* when *a very young Man, was admitted to the Friendſhip of Philip, the Son of Amyntas, and in a ſhort Time came to an intimate Familiarity* with him: *For even then there appeared*

honorificentius eſt, quàm apud Romanos: nam apud nos revera, ſicut ſunt, mercenarii ſcribæ exiſtimantur; at apud illos, contrariò, nemo ad id officium admittitur, niſi honeſto loco, & fide, & induſtriâ cognitâ; quòd neceſſe eſt omnium conſiliorum eum eſſe participem. Hunc locum tenuit amicitiæ apud Philippum annos ſeptem. Iſto interfecto, eodem gradu fuit apud Alexandrum annos tredecim. Noviſſimo tempore præfuit etiam alteri equitum alæ, quæ *Hetærice* appellabatur. Utrique autem & in concilio ſemper affuit, & omnium rerum habitus eſt particeps.

*peared in him*, though *very young*, *an able Genius. Wherefore he kept him with him in the Place of a Secretary*; *which is much more honourable amongſt the Greeks than amongſt the Romans*; *for with us Secretaries are accounted in Reality*, as they *are*, *Hirelings: but with them*, *on the contrary*, *nobody is admitted to that Office*, *unleſs of a good Family*, *and known Integrity and Induſtry*; *becauſe it is neceſſary for him to be a Sharer in all Counſels. He held this Poſt of Friendſhip under Philip ſeven Years. After he was ſlain, he was in the ſame Place under Alexander thirteen Years. At laſt likewiſe he commanded one Wing of Horſe, which was called* * Hetærice. *He was with both of them always one in the Council, and was treated as an Aſſociate in all Affairs.*

Cap. II. Alexandro Babylone mortuo, quum regna ſingulis familiaribus diſpertirentur, & ſumma rerum tradita eſſet tuenda eidem, cui Alexander moriens anulum ſuum dederat, Perdiccæ: ex quo omnes conjecerant, eum regnum ei commendâſſe, quoad liberi ejus in ſuam tutelam perveniſſent: (aberant enim Craterus & Antipater, qui antecedere hunc videbantur: mortuus erat Hephæſtio, quem unum

Chap. II. *Alexander dying at Babylon*, *when Kingdoms were diſtributed to each of his Friends*, *and the chief Management of Affairs was delivered to him to take Care of*, *to whom Alexander*, when *dying*, *had given his Ring*, *to Perdiccas: From whence all had conjectured*, *that he had recommended his Kingdom to him*, *till his Children ſhould come* to be *in their own Tuition* (*for Craterus and Antipater were abſent*, *who ſeemed to be before him: Hephæſtio*

* *Ala* is uſed for the Wing of an Army conſiſting of Horſe, whether more or leſs; but here it is put for a certain ſtanding Body of Horſe, called *Hetærice*, becauſe it was made up of Gentlemen that were Aſſociates, or Companions of the King.

unum Alexander, quod facilè intelligi poſſet, plurimi fecerat) hoc tempore data eſt Eumeni Cappadocia, ſive potiùs dicta; nam tum in hoſtium erat poteſtate. Hunc ſibi Perdiccas adjunxerat magno ſtudio, quòd in homine fidem & induſtriam magnam videbat; non dubitans, ſi eum pellexiſſet, magno uſui fore ſibi in his rebus, quas apparabat. Cogitabat enim (quod ferè omnes in magnis imperiis concupiſcunt) omnium partes corripere atque amplecti. Neque verò hoc ſolus fecit, ſed cæteri quoquè omnes, qui Alexandri fuerant amici. Primus, Leonnatus Macedoniam præoccupare deſtinaverat: Is multis magnis pollicitationibus perſuadere Eumeni ſtuduit, ut Perdiccam deſereret, ac ſecum faceret ſocietatem. Quum perducere eum non poſſet, interficere conatus eſt: & feciſſet, niſi ille clam noctu ex præſidiis ejus effugiſſet.

*ſtio was dead, whom Alexander, as might be eaſily underſtood, had valued very highly;) at this Time Cappadocia was given to Eumenes, or rather named* for him; *for then it was in the Power of the Enemies. Him Perdiccas had engaged to him with great Earneſtneſs, becauſe he ſaw in the Man great Integrity and Induſtry; not doubting, if he could* but *wheedle him over, that he would be of great Service to them in thoſe Things which he had in Agitation. For he intended (what commonly all in great Empires covet) to ſeize and take in the Shares of all* the reſt. *Nor did he alone do this, but likewiſe all the reſt, who had been Alexander's Friends. Firſt, Leonnatus had intended to ſeize upon Macedonia; he endeavoured to perſuade Eumenes, by many* and *great Promiſes, to forſake Perdiccas, and to make an Alliance with him. When he could not bring him to, he attempted to kill him; and had done it, unleſs he had privately eſcaped in the Night-time out of his Garriſons.*

CAP. III. Interim conflata ſunt illa bella, quæ ad internecionem, poſt Alexandri mortem, geſta ſunt; omneſque concurrerunt ad Perdiccam opprimendum: Quem etſi infirmum videbat, quòd unus omnibus reſiſtere cogebatur, tamen amicum non deſeruit; neque ſalutis quàm fidei fuit cupidior. Præfecerat eum Perdiccas ei parti Aſiæ,

CHAP. III. *In the mean Time thoſe Wars broke out, which, after the Death of Alexander, were carried on to the utter Ruin* of the Parties; *and all agreed together to ruin Perdiccas: Whom though he ſaw* but *weak, becauſe he alone was forced to ſtand againſt them all, yet he did not forſake his Friend; nor was he more deſirous of his* own *Security, than of* preſerving *his Honour.*

Asiæ, quæ inter Taurum montem jacet atque Hellespontum: & illum unum opposuerat Europæis adversariis: ipse Ægyptum oppugnatum adversus Ptolemæum erat profectus. Eumenes, quum neque magnas copias, neque firmas haberet, quòd inexercitatæ, & non multò antè erant contractæ; adventare autem dicerentur, Hellespontumque transisse Antipater & Craterus, magno cum exercitu Macedonum, viri cum claritate, tum usu belli præstantes: (Macedones verò milites eâ tunc erant famâ, quâ nunc Romani feruntur: etenim semper habiti sunt fortissimi, qui summam imperii potirentur) Eumenes intelligebat, si copiæ suæ cognoscerent, ad.ersus quos ducerentur, non modo non ituras, sed simul cum nuncio dilapsuras: Itaque hoc ejus fuit prudentissimum consilium, ut deviis itineribus milites duceret, in quibus vera audire non possent; & his persuaderet, se contra quosdam barbaros proficisci. Itaque tenuit hoc propositum & prius in aciem exercitum eduxit, prælioque commisit, quàm milites sui scirent, cum quibus arma conferrent. Effecit etiam illud locorum præoccupatione, uti equitatu potius dimicaret, quo plus valebat, quàm peditatu, quo erat deterior.

*nour. Perdiccas had set him over that Part of Asia, which lies betwixt Mount Taurus and the Hellespont; and had posted him alone against* all his *European Adversaries: He himself had marched against Ptolemy, to invade Egypt. Eumenes, though he had neither a great Army, nor a strong one, because it was unexercised, and raised not long before, and Antipater and Craterus were said to be coming, and to have passed the Hellespont with a great Army of Macedonians, Men, excelling both in Fame and Experience in War: (For the Macedonian Soldiers were then in that Repute, in which the Romans now are reckoned; for they have been always accounted the most valiant who held the chief Sway* in the World) *Eumenes was sensible, if his Troops understood against whom they were led, that they would not only not march, but would slip away with the News* of it. *Wherefore this Contrivance of his was very prudent, to lead his Soldiers by out-of the-way Marches, in which they could not hear the Truth; and to persuade them, that he was marching against some Barbarians. And accordingly he carried his Point, and drew his Army out into the Field, and joined Battle, before his Soldiers knew with whom they were engaged. He likewise gained that Point, by his timely seizing of Places, that he fought more with his Horse, in which he was stronger, than with his Foot, in which he was* but *weak.*

CAP. IV. Quorum acerrimo concursu quum magnam partem diei esset pugnatum, cadit Craterus dux, & Neoptolemus, qui secundum locum imperii tenebat. Cum hoc concurrit ipse Eumenes; qui, quum inter se complexi, in terram ex equis decidissent, ut facile intelligi posset inimicâ mente contendisse, animoque magis etiam pugnâsse, quàm corpore: non prius distracti sunt, quàm alterum anima reliquerit. Ab hoc aliquot plagis Eumenes vulneratur: neque eò magis ex prælio excessit, sed acriùs hostibus institit. Hîc, equitibus profligatis, interfecto duce Cratero, multis præterea & maximè nobilibus, captis; pedestris exercitus, quòd in ea loca erat deductus, ut invito Eumene elabi non posset, pacem ab eo petit: quam quum impetrâsset, in fide non mansit, & se, simul ac potuit, ad Antipatrum recepit. Eumenes Craterum ex acie semivivum elatum recreare studuit; quum id non potuisset, pro hominis dignitate proque pristinâ amicitiâ (namque illo vivo familiariter) amplo funere extulit, ossaque in Macedoniam uxori ejus ac liberis remisit.

CAP.

CHAP. IV. *After they had fought in a very desperate Engagement, a great Part of the Day, Craterus the General falls, and Neoptolemus* too, *who had the second Post of Command. With him Eumenes himself engages; who, when grappling one another, they had fallen upon the Ground from their Horses, that it might easily be understood that they had engaged with a pernicious Intention, and fought more with Mind than Body, were not separated, before Life left one* of them. *Eumenes is wounded by him with some Strokes; nor did he for that go out of the Battle, but pressed more briskly upon the Enemy. Here, the Horse being routed, their General Craterus slain, many besides, and especially Noblemen, being taken; the Infantry, because they were got into those Places, from whence they could not escape without Eumenes's Leave, begged Peace of him; which when they had obtained, they did not continue in their Engagement, and withdrew themselves, as soon as they could, to Antipater. Eumenes endeavoured to recover Craterus, being carried half alive out of the Field: When he could not* do *that, he buried him with a noble Funeral, according to the Dignity of the Man, and their former Friendship (for he had been very familiar with him, whilst Alexander* was *living;) and sent his Bones into Macedonia to his Wife and Children.*

CHAP.

Cap. V. Hæc dum apud Helleſpontum geruntur, Perdiccas apud flumen Nilum interficitur à Seleuco & Antigono; rerumque ſumma ad Antipatrum defertur. Hîc, qui deſeruerant, exercitu ſuffragium ferente, capitis abſentes damnantur: in his Eumenes. Hâc ille perculſus plagâ, non ſuccubuit, neque eo ſecius bellum adminiſtravit. Sed exiles res animi magnitudinem etſi non frangebant, tamen imminuebant. Hunc perſequens Antigonus, quum omni genere copiarum abundaret, ſæpe in itineribus vexabatur, neque unquam ad manum accedere licebat, niſi his locis, quibus multis poſſent pauci reſiſtere. Sed extremo tempore, quum conſilio capi non poſſet, multitudine circumventus eſt: Hinc tamen, multis ſuis amiſſis, ſe expedivit: & in caſtellum Phrygiæ, quod Nora appellatur, confugit: In quo, cùm circumſederetur, & vereretur, ne uno loco manens, equos militares perderet, quòd ſpatium non eſſet agitandi; callidum fuit ejus inventum, quemadmodum ſtans jumentum calefieri exercerique poſſet, quò libentiùs & cibo uteretur, & à corporis motu non removeretur. Subſtringebat caput loro altiùs, quam ut prioribus pedibus planè terram poſſet attingere; deinde poſt verberibus cogebat exultare, & calces

Chap. V. *Whilſt theſe Things are done at the Helleſpont, Perdiccas was ſlain at the River Nile, by Seleucus and Antigonus*; *and the chief Direction of Affairs is conferred upon Antipater. Here, they who had forſaken* them, *the Army giving their Votes, are condemned in their Abſence* to the Loſs *of Life: Amongſt theſe* was *Eumenes. He, being ſhocked with this Stroke*, yet *did not ſink under it, nor ever a whit the leſs go on with the War. But little Things, though they did not break the Greatneſs of his Mind, yet they leſſened it. Antigonus purſuing him, though he abounded in all Sorts of Troops, was often* ſadly *plagued* by him *in his Marches, nor could he ever come to Strokes, but in thoſe Places, in which a few might reſiſt many. But at laſt, when he could not be taken by Conduct, he was ſurrounded by their vaſt Number*; *yet he got clear from hence* too, *many of his Men being loſt, and fled into a Caſtle of Phrygia, which is called Nora: In which, when he was beſieged, and afraid, leſt*, by *ſtaying in one Place, he ſhould ſpoil his War-Horſes, becauſe there was no Room to exerciſe them*; *his Invention was cunning, how a Horſe might be warmed and exerciſed ſtanding, that he might both eat his Provender more freely, and not be kept from bodily Motion. He tied up his Head with a leathern Strap, higher than that he could quite touch the Ground with his*

ces remittere: qui motus non minùs sudorem excutiebat, quàm si in spatio decurrerent. Quo factum est, quod omnibus mirabile est visum, ut jumenta æquè nitida ex castello educeret, quum complures menses in obsidione fuissèt, ac si in campestribus ea locis habuissèt. Eâ conclusione, quotiescunque voluit, & apparatum & munitiones Antigoni alias incendit, alias disjecit. Tenuit autem se uno loco, quamdiu fuit hyëms, quòd castra sub dio habere non poterat. Ver appropinquabat, simulatâ deditione, dum de conditionibus tractat, præfectis Antigoni imposuit, seque ac suos omnes extraxit incolumes.

*Fore-feet; then he forced him, with lashing behind, to bounce, and throw back his Heels: which Motion fetched the Sweat no less, than if they had run in the open Field. By which was effected that which seemed wonderful to all, that he drew his Horses as neat out of the Castle, though he had been several Months under a Siege, as if he had had them in the open Fields. In that Siege, as often as he had a Mind, he one while set on fire, and another while tore a-pieces, all the Works and Fortifications of Antigonus. But he kept himself in one Place, as long as it was Winter, because he could not have a Camp in the open Air.* Now *Spring approached, pretending to surrender, whilst he treats upon the Terms, he imposed upon the Commanders of Antigonus, and drew off himself and all his Men safe.*

CAP. VI. Ad hunc Olympias, mater quæ fuerat Alexandri, quum literas & nuncios misisset in Asiam, consultum utrum repetitum veniret Macedoniam, (nam tum in Epiro habitabat) & eas res occuparet: huic ille primùm suasit, ne se moveret, & expectaret, quoad Alexandri filius regnum adipisceretur: sin aliqua cupiditate raperetur in Macedoniam, omnium injuriarum oblivisceretur, & in neminem acerbiore uteretur imperio. Horum nihil ea fecit; nam & in Macedoniam

CHAP. VI. *When Olympias, who had been the Mother of Alexander, had sent Letters and Messengers into Asia to him to consult* him, *whether she should come to recover Macedonia, (for she then lived in Epire) and seize the Government there; he first of all advised her not to stir, and to stay till the Son of Alexander should get the Kingdom; but if she was carried by any strong Desire for Macedonia, to forget all Injuries, and to use a rigid Government towards no body. She did nothing of this: For she both went into Macedonia, and there*

cedoniam profecta est, & ibi crudelissimè se gessit. Petivit autem ab Eumene absente, ne pateretur Philippi domûs & familiæ inimicissimos regnare, amicissimos interire, ferretque opem liberis Alexandri: quam veniam, si sibi daret, quàm primùm exercitus pararet, quos sibi subsidio adduceret: id quò facilius faceret, se omnibus præfectis, qui in officio manebant, misisse literas, ut ei parerent, ejusque consiliis uterentur. His verbis Eumenes permotus, satiùs duxit, si ita tulisset fortuna, perire bene meritis referentem Gratiam, quàm ingratum vivere.

*there behaved herself most cruelly. She begged too of Eumenes,* though *absent, that he would not suffer the bitter Enemies of Philip's House and Family to reign,* and *his best Friends to perish, and bring Assistance to the Children of Alexander: Which Favour, if he would do her, he might raise Armies as soon as possible, to bring to their Relief: That he might do that the more easily, she had written to all the Governors of* Provinces, *that continued in their Duty, to obey him, and take his Advice. Eumenes being moved with these Words* of her's, *thought it better, if Fortune would have it so, to perish* in *making a Return to those that had deserved well from him, than to live ungrateful.*

Cap. VII. Itaque copias contraxit, bellum adversus Antigonum comparavit. Quòd unà erant Macedones complûres nobiles, in his Leucestes, qui corporis custos fuerat Alexandri, tum autem obtinebat Persidem; & Antigenes, cujus sub imperio phalanx erat Macedonum, invidiam verens (quam tamen effugere non potuit) si potiùs ipse alienigena summi imperii potiretur, quàm alii Macedonum, quorum ibi erat multitudo; in principiis nomine Alexandri statuit tabernaculum,

Chap. VII. *Wherefore he got together Troops,* and *prepared for a War against Antigonus. Because there were with him a great many noble Macedonians,* and *amongst them Leucestes, who had been a Life-Guard Man of Alexander's, and at that Time held Persia; and Antigenes, under whose Command the Phalanx of the Macedonians was, fearing Envy (which yet he could not escape) if he a Stranger should rather have the chief Command, than others of the Macedonians, of which there was a great Number there; he erects a Tent in the * Principia, in the Name*

* The *Principia* was that Place in the Camp, where the General's Tent was, where the Standards were stuck in the Earth, during the

lum, in eoque sellam auream, cum sceptro ac diademate, jussit poni, eòque omnes quotidie convenire, ut ubi de summis rebus consilia caperentur; credens minore se invidiâ fore, si specie imperii, nominisque simulatione Alexandri, bellum videretur administrare: quod & fecit; nam quum non ad Eumenis principia, sed ad regia conveniretur, atque ibi de rebus deliberaretur, quodammodo latebat, quum tamen per eum unum gererentur omnia.

*Name of Alexander, and ordered a Gold Chair, with a Sceptre and a Diadem, to be placed in it, and all to repair thither every Day, that there Council might be taken about important Matters; thinking that he should be under less Envy, if he appeared to manage the War, under Show of the Command, and under Pretence of the Name of Alexander: which he likewise did; for as they did not meet at the Principia of Eumenes, but at the King's, and there debated about their Affairs, he in a Manner was concealed, though notwithstanding all Things were done by him alone.*

CHAP. VIII. Hic in Paræ-tacis cum Antigono conflixit, non acie instructâ, sed in itinere; eumque malè acceptum in Mediam hyëmatum coëgit redire. Ipse in finitimâ regione Persidis hyëmatum copias divisit; non ut voluit, sed ut militum cogebat voluntas. Namque illa phalanx Alexandri Magni, quæ Asiam peragrârat, deviceratque Persas, inveteratâ cum gloriâ, tum etiam licentiâ, non parere se ducibus, sed imperare postulabat, ut nunc veterani fasiunt nostri. Itaque periculum est ne faciant, quod illi fecerunt suâ intemperantiâ, nimiaque licentiâ, ut omnia perdant, neque minùs eos, cum quibus

CHAP. VIII. *He engaged* in the Country of the * *Parætaci, with Antigonus, not with his Army regularly drawn up, but upon his March; and forced him, being ill handled, to return into Media, to winter. He distributed his Troops into Winter-Quarters, in the neighbouring Country of Persia, not as he had a Mind, but as the Pleasure of the Soldiers obliged him. For that Phalanx of Alexander the Great, which had overrun all Asia, and overcome the Persians, being grown old both in Glory and Licentiousness too, expected not to obey their Generals, but to command them, as our Veterans now do. Wherefore there is* some *Danger, lest they should do what those did, by their disorderly Behaviour, and extravagant Licen-*

the Encampment; there likewise Courts, for the Cognizance of Misdemeanors, and Councils of War, were held.

* A People of Persia.

bus ſteterint, quàm adverſus quos fecerint. Quòd ſi quis illorum veteranorum legat facta, paria horum cognoſcat; neque rem ullam, niſi tempus, intereſſe judicet. Sed ad illos revertar. Hyberna ſumpſerant, non ad uſum belli, ſed ad ipſorum luxuriam: longèque inter ſe diſceſſerant. Hoc Antigonus quum comperiſſet, intelligeretque ſe parem non eſſe paratis adverſariis, ſtatuit aliquid ſibi conſilii novi eſſe capiendum. Duæ erant viæ, quà ex Medis, ubi ille hyemabat, ad adverſariorum hybernacula poſſet perveniri: quarum brevior per loca deſerta, quæ nemo incolebat, propter aquæ inopiam: cæterum dierum erat ferè decem. Illa autem, quà omnes commeabant, altero tanto longiorem habebat anfractum; ſed erat copioſa, omniumque rerum abundans. Hàc ſi proficiſceretur, intelligebat priùs adverſarios reſcituros de ſuo adventu, quàm ille tertiam partem confeciſſet itineris ſui: ſin per loca ſola contenderet, ſperabat ſe imprudentem hoſtem oppreſſurum. Ad hanc rem conficiendam, imperavit quàm plurimos utres atque etiam culeos comparari; poſt hæc pabulum, præterea cibaria cocta, dierum decem, utque quàm minimè fieret ignis in caſtris. Iter quod habebat, omnes celat.

*Licentiouſneſs, ruin all, no leſs thoſe with whom they have ſided, than thoſe againſt whom they fought. And if any one reads the Actions of theſe Veterans, he will find* the Actions *of theſe* of ours *like them; nor will judge there is any Thing* of Difference *betwixt them, but* that *of Time. But I ſhall return to them. They had taken up their Winter Quarters, not for the Convenience of War, but for their own Luxury; and had ſeparated at a great Diſtance from one another. When Antigonus had found this, and was ſenſible that he was not a Match for his Enemy prepared for him, he reſolves to take ſome new Courſe. There were two Ways by which they might come from* the Country *of the Medes, to the Winter-Quarters of their Enemies: The ſhorter of which* was *through deſart Places, which no-body inhabited, by Reaſon of the Scarcity of Water; but it was* only *about ten Days* March. *But the other, by which all People travelled, had a Windabout as long again; but it was plentiful, and abounding in all Things. If he went this Way, he was ſenſible his Enemies would know of his Coming, before he had made a third Part of his March; but if he ſhould go through the deſart Places, he hoped he ſhould come upon the Enemy unawares. For the doing of this latter, he ordered a great many leathern Bottles and Sacks to be got together; after that Forage, beſides Meat ready dreſſed for ten Days, and that as little Fire as poſſible ſhould be*

CAP.

*be made in the Camp. He conceals from all People the March which he was about.*

CAP. IX. Sic paratus, quà conſtituerat, proficiſcitur. Dimidium ferè ſpatium confecerat quum, ex fumo caſtrorum ejus, ſuſpicio allata eſt ad Eumenem, hoſtem appropinquare. Conveniunt duces; quæritur quid opus ſit facto. Intelligebant omnes tam celeriter copias ipſorum contrahi non poſſe, quàm Antigonus affuturus videbatur. Hìc omnibus titubantibus, & de rebus ſummis deſperantibus; Eumenes ait, Si celeritatem velint adhibere, & imperata facere, quod antè non fecerint, ſe rem expediturum; nam quod diebus quinque hoſtis tranſire poſſet, effecturum, ut non minùs totidem dierum ſpatio retardaretur. Quare circumirent, ſuas quiſque copias contraheret. Ad Antigoni autem reſrænandum impetum tale capit conſilium: Certos mittit homines ad infimos montes, qui obvii erant itineri adverſariorum, hiſque præcipit, ut primâ nocte quàm latiſſimè poſſint, ignes faciant quàm maximos; atque hos ſecunda vigilia minuant, tertia perexiguos reddant: &, aſſimulatâ caſtrorum conſuetudine, ſuſpicionem injiciant hoſtibus, his locis eſſe caſtra, ac de eorum adventu eſſe prænuntiatum; idemq; poſterâ nocte faciant.

CHAP. IX. *Being thus provided, he goes* the Way *he had intended. He had got almoſt half Way, when, from the Smoke of the Camp, a Suſpicion was brought to Eumenes, that the Enemy was coming. The Generals met: It is debated amongſt them, what was neceſſary to be done. They all knew, that their Troops could not ſo ſoon be got together, as Antigonus ſeemed likely to be there. Here all of them heſitating* upon the Matter, *and deſpairing of the main Stake: Eumenes ſays, If they would* but *uſe Expedition, and perform Orders, which they had not done before, he would clear the Matter: For whereas the Enemies might paſs in five Days, he would take Care that they ſhould be retarded not leſs than as many Days Time. Wherefore* he ordered them *to go about, and every Man to get together his Troops. He takes this Method to retard the Progreſs of Antigonus: He ſends truſty Men to the Bottom of the Mountains which were oppoſite to the Enemy's March, and ordered them to make as large Fires, and as far and wide, as they could, in the Beginning of the Night; and leſſening them the ſecond Watch, make them very little the third; and, by imitating the Uſage of a Camp, give the Enemy a Suſpicion, that there was a Camp in thoſe Parts, and that Notice had been given of their Coming; and to do the ſame the*

faciant. Quibus imperatum erat diligenter præceptum curant. Antigonus tenebris obortis, ignes conspicatur, credit de suo adventu esse auditum, & adversarios illùc suas contraxisse copias. Mutat consilium, &, quoniam imprudentes adoriri non posset, flectit iter suum, & illum anfractum longiorem copiosæ viæ capit; ibique diem unum opperitur ad lassitudinem sedandam militum, ac reficienda jumenta, quo integriore exercitu decerneret.

*the following Night. They, to whom this Order was given, take Care* to execute *their Order diligently. Antigonus, when the Darkness of* Night *began, sees the Fires, believes that they had heard of his coming, and that the Enemies had drawn their Troops thither. He alters his Design, and, because he could not set upon them unawares, he turns his March, and takes that longer Wind of a plentiful Rout: and there he stays one Day, to relieve the Weariness of his Soldiers, and refresh the Horses, that he might engage with his Army in good Condition.*

Cap. X. Hîc Eumenes callidum imperatorem vicit consilio, celeritatemque impedivit ejus; neque tamen multùm profecit; nam invidiâ ducum, cum quibus erat, perfidiâque militum Macedonum veteranorum, quum superior prœlio discessisset, Antigono est deditus, quum exercitus ei ter antè, separatis temporibus, juràsset, se eum defensurum, nec unquam deserturum. Sed tanta fuit nonnullorum virtutis obtrectatio, ut fidem amittere mallent, quàm eum non prodere. Atque hunc Antigonus, quum ei fuisset infestissimus, conservâsset, si per suos esset licitum, quòd ab nullo se plùs adjuvari posse intelligebat in his rebus, quas impendere jam apparebat omnibus. Imminebant enim. Seleucus, Lysimachus, Ptolemæus, opibus

Chap. X. *Here Eumenes prevailed against this crafty General by his Contrivance, and slackened his Speed: but yet he did not much Good; for through the Envy of the Generals with whom he was, and the Treachery of the Macedonian Veteran Soldiers, tho' he came off superior in the Battle, he was delivered up to Antigonus, though the Army had sworn thrice before, at several Times, that they would defend him, and never forsake him. But such was some People's Endeavour to detract from his Worth, that they chose rather to part with their Honour than not betray him. Antigonus too would have saved him, though he had been very bitter against him, if he could but have done it for his Friends, because he was sensible he could be more assisted by no body, in those Things, which now it was apparent to all People were ready*

bus jam valentes, cum quibus ei de summis rebus erat dimicandum. Sed non passi sunt ii, qui circa erant; quòd videbant, Eumene recepto, omnes præ illo parvi futuros. Ipse autem Antigonus adeò erat incensus, ut nisi magnâ spe maximarum rerum leniri non posset.

*to happen. For Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy, mighty in Strength, were coming upon him, with whom he would be obliged to engage for his All. But those that were about him did not suffer him; because they saw, that* if *Eumenes* was *entertained* by him, *they should all be of small Account in Comparison with him. But Antigonus himself was so incensed, that he could not be mollified, but by a great Expectation of the greatest Advantages.*

CAP. XI. Itaque, quum eum in custodiam dedisset, & præfectus custodiam quæsisset quemadmodum servari vellet: Ut acerrimum, inquit, leonem, aut ferocissimum elephantum: Nondum enim statuerat, eum conservaret necne. Veniebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, & qui, propter odium, fructum oculis ex ejus casu capere vellent; & qui propter veterem amicitiam, colloqui consolarique cuperent. Multi etiam, qui ejus formam cognoscere studebant, qualis esset, quem tamdiu tamque valde timuissent, cujus in pernicie positam spem habuissent victoriæ. At Eumenes, quum diutius in vinculis esset, ait Onomarcho, penes quem summa imperii erat custodia, *se mirari, quare jam tertium diem sic teneretur; non enim hoc convenire Antigoni prudentiæ, ut sic se uteretur victo; quin aut interfici,*

CHAP. XI. *Wherefore, when he had put him under Confinement, and the Commander of the Guard had enquired how he would have him kept, he said, as a most furious Lion, or a very fierce Elephant: For he had not yet determined whether he should save him or no. Now both Sorts of People came to Eumenes, those who, because of their Hatred* of him *had a Mind to receive a Satisfaction by their own Eyes from his Fall; and those who, because of their old Friendship* for him, *desired to speak with him, and to comfort him: Many likewise, who were desirous to know his Person,* and *what Sort of* Man *he was, whom they had feared so long, and so very much, in whose Destruction they had placed their Hopes of Victory. But Eumenes, after he had been long in Chains, says to Onomarchus, in whom the chief Command of the Guard was,* That he wondered why he was thus kept now the third Day; for this was not agreeable to the Prudence of Antigonus, thus to abuse

*interfici, aut missum fieri juberet.* Hic quum ferociùs Onomarcho loqui videretur. *Quid tu,* inquit, *animo si isto eras, cur non prælio cecidisti potiùs quàm in potestatem inimici venires?* Huic Eumenes, *Utinam quidem istud evenisset,* inquit: *sed eò non accidit, quòd nunquam cum fortiore sum congressus; non enim eum quoquam arma contuli, quin is mihi succubuerit: Non enim virtute hostium, sed amicorum perfidiâ decidi.* Neque id falsum; nam & dignitate fuit honestâ & viribus ad laborem ferendum firmis, neque tam magno corpore, quàm figurâ venustâ.

abuse him he had conquered; that he should order him either to be slain, or to be discharged. *As he seemed to Onomarchus to talk very boldly:* What, *says he,* if you were of that Mind, why did not you rather fall in Battle, than come into the Power of your Enemy? *To him Eumenes replied,* I wish that had befallen me indeed; but it therefore did not happen, because I never engaged with a stouter *than myself*; for I did not fight with any one, but he fell under me: For I fell not by the Bravery of my Enemies, but by the Treachery of my Friends. *Nor was that false*; * *for he was a Man of genteel Gracefulness of Person, and of Strength sufficient for the bearing of Fatigue, yet not of so large a Body, as a handsome Shape.*

Cap. XII. De hoc Antigonus quum solus constituere non auderet, ad concilium retulit. Hi, quum plerique omnes, animo perturbati, admirarentur, non jam de eo sumptum esse supplicium, à quo tot annos adeo essent malè habiti, ut sæpe ad desperationem forent adducti, quique maximos duces interfecisset; denique in quo uno esset tantum, ut, quoad ille viveret,

Chap. XII. *As Antigonus durst not determine about him alone, he proposed the Matter to a Council. Here, when almost all of them, much disturbed in Mind, wondered he was not already punished, by whom they had been so ill handled for so many Years, that they were often brought to Despair, and who had taken off the greatest Generals; finally, in whom alone there was so much* Weight, *that so long as he*



* This seems but an odd Kind of a Reason for his being too hard for all he fought with. Had he encountered Ladies with the like Success, then indeed his *Dignitas Honesta*, his *Venusta Figura* might well be supposed to have stood him in a good Stead; but what they could signify against hard Bangs and cold Iron, I cannot imagine.

viveret, ipsi securi esse non possent; interfecto, nihil habituri negotii essent: postremò, si illi redderet salutem, quærebant, quibus amicis esset usurus? Sese enim cum Eumene apud eum non futuros. Hic, cognitâ concilii voluntate, tamen usque ad septimum diem deliberandi sibi spatium reliquit: Tum autem, quum vereretur, ne qua seditio exercitûs oriretur, vetuit ad eum quenquam admitti, & quotidianum victum amoveri jussit: nam negabat se ei vim allaturum, qui aliquando fuisset amicus. Hic tamen non ampliùs quàm triduum fame fatigatus, cùm castra moverentur, insciente Antigono, jugulatus est à custodibus.

*he lived, they could not be secure: If he was slain, they should have no Difficulty: Finally, if he gave him his Life, they asked* him *what Friends he intended to make Use of; for they would not be with him, together with Eumenes. Having known the Mind of the Council, yet he left himself Time to consider, till the seventh Day: But then, when he was* now *afraid, lest any Mutiny of the Army should arise* upon *it, he forbad any one to be admitted to him, and ordered his daily Food to be withdrawn; for he denied that he would offer Violence to him, who had once been his Friend. Yet he being tormented with Hunger no more than three Days, when the Camp was removed, was butchered by his Guards, Antigonus being ignorant* of the Matter.

CAP. XIII. Sic Eumenes, annorum quinque & quadraginta, quum ab anno vigesimo (ut suprà ostendimus) septem annos Philippo apparuisset; & tredecim apud Alexandrum eundum locum obtinuisset; in his uni equitum alæ præfuisset; post autem Alexandri Magni mortem, imperator exercitus duxisset, summosque duces partim repulisset, partim interfecisset; captus, non Antigoni virtute, sed Macedonum perjurio, talem habuit exitum vitæ. De quo quanta fuerit omnium opinio eorum, qui post Alexandrum Magnum reges sunt appellati,

CHAP. XIII. *Thus Eumenes, being five and forty Years old, after he had attended Philip* as his Secretary for *seven Years, from his twentieth Year, (as we have shewn above) and had held the same Places under Alexander thirteen; in which he commanded* only *one Wing of the Cavalry; but after Alexander's Death had led Armies as a General, and had partly defeated, and partly slain the greatest Generals; being taken Prisoner, not by the good Conduct of Antigonus, but the Perjury of the Macedonians, had this End of his Life. Of whom how great the Opinion of all those was, who were*

appellati, ex hoc facillimè poteſt judicari: Quòd nemo, Eumene vivo, rex appellatus eſt, ſed præfectus. Idem, poſt hujus occaſum, ſtatim regium ornatum nomenque ſumſerunt; neque quod initio prædicârant, ſe Alexandri liberis regnum ſervare, id præſtare voluerunt: & uno propugnatore ſublato, quid ſentirent aperuerunt. Hujus ſceleris principes fuerunt Antigonus, Ptolemæus, Seleucus, Lyſimachus, Caſſander. Antigonus autem Eumenem, mortuum, propinquis ejus ſepeliendum tradidit. Hi militari honeſtoque funere, comitante toto exercitu, humaverunt; oſſaque ejus in Cappadociam ad matrem, atque uxorem, liberoſque ejus deportanda curârunt.

*were called Kings after Alexander the Great, may be very eaſily judged from hence*; *that none*, whilſt *Eumenes* was *alive*, *was named King*, *but Governor: The ſame*, *after his Fall*, *preſently took* upon them *the Regal Habit and Name* too; *Nor would they perform what*, *at firſt*, *they had given out*, *that they would keep the Kingdom for the Children of Alexander: And* this *their only Protector being taken off*, *they diſcovered what they intended. The Leaders in this Villainy were Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander. But Antigonus gave Eumenes*, when *dead*, *to his Relations to be buried. Theſe buried him with a military and a handſome Funeral*, *the whole Army attending*; *and took Care that his Bones were carried into Cappadocia to his Mother*, *Wife*, *and Children.*

XIX. *PHOCION*,

## XIX.

## PHOCION, Athenienſis.

### CAP. I.

PHocion Athenienſis. Etſi ſæpe exercitibus præfuit, ſummoſque magiſtratus cepit; tamen multò ejus notior integritas eſt vitæ, quàm rei militaris labor: Itaque hujus memoria eſt nulla, illius autem magna fama; ex quo cognomine Bonus eſt appellatus. Fuit enim perpetuò pauper, quum divitiſſimus eſſe poſſet propter frequentes delatos honores, poteſtateſque ſummas, quæ ei à populo deferebantur. Hic quum à rege Philippo munera magnæ pecuniæ repudiaret, legatique hortarentur accipere, ſimulque admonerent, ſi ipſe his facilè careret, liberis tamen ſuis proſpiceret, quibus difficile eſſet, in ſumma paupertate, tantam paternam tueri gloriam: His ille, *Si mei ſimiles erunt, idem hic*, inquit, *agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit; ſin diſſimiles ſunt futuri, nolo meis impenſis illorum ali augerique luxuriam.*

CAP.

## XIX.

## PHOCION, *the Athenian.*

### CHAP. I.

*Hocion the Athenian. Though he oftentimes commanded Armies and bore the greateſt Offices, yet the Integrity of his Life is much more noted than his Performance in military Affairs: Wherefore there is no Account of this, but the Fame of the other* is *great; from whence he was called by Surname, The Good. For he was always poor, though he might have been very rich becauſe of the frequent Offices conferred* upon him, *and the great Poſts that were given him by the People. When he refuſed the Preſent of a great* Sum of *Money from King Philip, and the Ambaſſadors adviſed him to receive it, and at the ſame Time told him, that if he could eaſily want it, yet he ought to provide for his Children, for whom it would be difficult, in the utmoſt Poverty, to maintain the mighty Glory of their Father: To theſe he replied,* If they be like me, this ſame little Eſtate will maintain them, which has brought me to this Dignity: But if they ſhall prove unlike me, I would not have their Luxury maintained

tained and increaſed at my Charge.

Cap. II. Eidem quum prope ad annum octageſimum proſpera permanſiſſet fortuna, extremis temporibus magnum in odium pervenit ſuorum civium. Primò, cum Demade de urbe tradendâ Antipatro conſenſerat: ejuſque conſilio Demoſthenes, cum cæteris qui bene de republicâ mereri exiſtimabantur, plebiſcito in exilium erant expulſi. Neque in eo ſolùm offenderat, quòd patriæ malè conſuluerat, ſed etiam quod amicitiæ fidem non præſtiterat: namque auctus adjutuſque à Demoſthene, eum, quem tenebat, aſcenderat gradum, quum adverſus Charetem eum ſubornaret; ab eodem in judiciis quum capitis cauſam diceret, defenſus aliquoties liberatus diſceſſerat: hunc non ſolùm in periculis non defendit, ſed etiam prodidit. Concidit autem maximè uno crimine: quia, quum apud eum ſummum eſſet imperium populi, & Nicanorem, Caſſandri præfectum, inſidiari Piræeo Athenienſium, à Dercyllo moneretur; idemque poſtularet, ut provideret, ne commeatibus civitas privaretur: hìc, audiente populo, Phocion negavit eſſe periculum, ſeque ejus rei obſidem fore pollicitus eſt; neque ita multò pòſt Nicanor Piræeo eſt

Chap. II. *After Fortune had continued favourable to him, almoſt to his eightieth Year, at the latter End of his Time he fell under the great Hatred of his Countrymen. Firſt, he had agreed with Demades about delivering the City to Antipater: And by his Advice, Demoſthenes, with the reſt, who were thought to deſerve well of the Commonwealth, had been forced into Baniſhment, by a Decree of the People. Nor had he only offended in this, that he had adviſed ill for his Country, but likewiſe had not performed the faithful Part in Friendſhip: for, being ſupported and aſſiſted by Demoſthenes, he had mounted to that Height which he then held, when he ſuborned him againſt Chares; being defended by the ſame in* ſome *Trials, when he was tried for his Life, he had come off ſeveral Times ſafe: he not only did not defend him in his Dangers, but likewiſe betrayed him. But he fell chiefly by one Crime; becauſe when the ſupreme Government of the People was in him, and he was told by Dercyllus, that Nicanor, Caſſander's Governor, had a Deſign upon Pyræeus; and the ſame Man deſired, that he would take Care the City was not deprived of its Proviſions: Here,* in the *Hearing* of *the People, Phocion denied there was* any *Danger, and promiſed that he would be Security*

eſt potitus: Ad quem recuperandum, ſine quo Athenæ omnino eſſe non poſſunt, quum populus armatus concurriſſet, ille non modò neminem ad arma vocavit, ſed ne armatis quidem præeſſe voluit.

*Security for that Matter; and not long after Nicanor got Pyræeus: to recover which when the People ran together in Arms, without which Athens cannot be at all, he not only called out nobody to Arms, but would not ſo much as command thoſe that were armed.*

CAP. III. Erat eo tempore Athenis duæ factiones: quarum una populi cauſam agebat, altera optimatum: In hâc erat Phocion & Demetrius Phalereus. Harum utraque Macedonum patrociniis nitebatur: nam populares Polyperchonti favebant; optimates cum Caſſandro ſentiebant. Interim, à Polyperchonte Caſſander Macedoniâ pulſus eſt. Quo facto, populus ſuperior factus, ſtatim duces adverſariæ factionis, capitis damnatos, patriâ pepulit: in his Phocionem & Demetrium Phalereum: deque eâ re legatos ad Polyperchontem miſit, qui ab eo peterent, ut ſua decreta confirmaret. Huc eòdem profectus eſt Phocion: quò ut venit, cauſam apud Philippum regem verbo, reipſa quidem apud Polyperchontem juſſus eſt dicere; namque is tum regis rebus præerat. Hic quum ab Agonide accuſatus eſſet, quòd Piræum Nicanori prodidiſſet, ex concilii ſententiâ in cuſtodiam conjectus, Athenas deductus eſt, ut ibi de

CHAP. III. *There were at that Time two Factions at Athens, one of which ſtood up for the Cauſe of the People; the other that of the Quality: In this was Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus. Each of theſe relied upon the Protection of the Macedonians: for the popular Party favoured Polyperchon; the Gentry ſided with Caſſander. In the mean Time, Caſſander was driven out of Macedonia by Polyperchon. Upon which, the People becoming ſuperior, immediately forced out of their Country the Heads of the oppoſite Party, condemned to the Loſs of Life; among theſe Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus; and ſent Ambaſſadors about that Matter to Polyperchon, to deſire of him that he would confirm their Decrees. To the ſame went Phocion; whither as ſoon as he was come, he was obliged to plead his Cauſe before King Philip in Pretence, but in Reality before Polyperchon; for he at that Time directed the King's Affairs. Being accuſed by Agonides for having betrayed Pyræeus to Nicanor, being put under Confinement by Order of the Council, he was carried to Athens,*

de eo legibus fieret judicium.

Cap. IV. Huc ubi perventum est, quum propter ætatem pedibus jam non valeret, vehiculoque portaretur, magni concursus sunt facti; quum alii, reminiscentes veteris famæ, ætatis miserarentur; plurimi verò ita exacuerentur propter proditionis suspicionem Piræei: maximèque, quòd adversus populi commoda in senectute steterat. Quâ de re, ne perorandi quidem ei data est facultas, & dicendi causam. Inde judicio, legitimis quibusdam confectis, damnatus, traditus est Undecemviris; quibus ad supplicium, more Atheniensium, publicè damnati tradi solent. Hic quum ad mortem duceretur, obvius ei fuit Emphyletus, quo familiariter fuerat usus; Is quum lacrymans dixisset, *O quam indigna perpeteris, Phocion!* huic ille, *At non inopinata*, inquit; *hunc enim exitum plerique clari viri habuerunt Athenienses.* In hoc tantum fuit odium multitudinis, ut nemo ausus sit eum liber sepelire: Itaque à servis sepultus est.

*Athens, that he might have his Trial there according to Law.*

Chap. IV. *After he was come hither, being now lame of his Feet by Reason of his Age, and carried in a Chariot, great Crowds of People gathered about him; whilst some, remembering his former Fame, pitied his Age; but very many were so exasperated because of the Suspicion of his betraying Piræus: but chiefly because he had stood up against the Interest of the People in his old Age. Wherefore he had not, indeed, Leave given him to speak for himself, and plead his Cause. Then some Formalities of Law being performed,* he was *condemned*, and *delivered to the Undecemviri, to whom, according to the Custom of the Athenians, those condemned for Offences against the State used to be delivered. When he was led to Execution, Emphyletus met him, whom he had been very kind with: When he said, weeping*, O! what unworthy Things do you suffer, Phocion! *To him he replies*, But not unexpected; for most of the famous Men of Athens have had this End. *So great was the Hatred of the People against him, that no Freeman durst bury him: Wherefore he was buried by his Slaves.*

## XX.

## TIMOLEON, Corinthius.

### CAP. I.

TImoleon Corinthius. Sine dubio magnus omnium judicio hic vir extitit: Namque huic uni contigit, quod nescio an ulli, ut patriam, in quâ erat natus, oppressam à tyranno, liberaret; & à Syracusis, quibus auxilio erat missus, inveteratam servitutem depelleret; totamque Siciliam multos annos bello vexatam, à barbarisque oppressam, suo adventu in pristinum statum restitueret. Sed in his rebus non simplici fortunâ conflictatus est; &, id quod difficilius putatur, multo sapientius tulit secundam quàm adversam fortunam: nam quum frater ejus Timophanes, dux à Corinthiis delectus, tyrannidem per milites mercenarios occupâsset, particepsque regni posset esse; tantùm abfuit à societate sceleris, ut antetulerit suorum civium libertatem fratris saluti, & patriæ legibus obtemperare sanctius duxerit, quàm imperare patriæ.

## XX.

## TIMOLEON, the Corinthian.

### CHAP. I.

*TImoleon the Corinthian. Without doubt he was a great Man in the Judgment of every body: For that happened to him alone, which I know not whether ever it happened to any other, that he both delivered his Country, in which he was born, oppressed by a Tyrant, and removed an inveterate Slavery from Syracuse, to the Assistance of which he was sent; and restored by his coming to its former State all Sicily,* that had been *harrassed with War many Years, and oppressed by Barbarians. But in these Things he struggled not with one* sort of *Fortune* only. *And, that which is thought much the more difficult, he bore his good Fortune much better than his ill* Fortune: *For when his Brother Timophanes, being chosen General by the Corinthians, had seized the Government, by* the Means of *the foreign Soldiers in the Corinthian Pay, and he might have been a Partner with him in his Kingdom; he was so far from a Share in his Villainy, that he preferred the Liberty of his Countrymen*

triæ. Hâc mente per aruſpicem communemque affinem, cui ſoror ex iiidem parentibus nata, nupta erat, fratrem tyrannum interficiendum curavit. Ipſe non modò manus non attulit, ſed ne aſpicere quidem fraternum ſanguinem voluit. Nam dum res conficeretur, procul in præſidio fuit, nequis ſatelles poſſet ſuccurrere. Hoc præclariſſimum ejus facinus non pari modo probatum eſt ab omnibus: nonnulli enim læſam ab eo pietatem putabant, & invidiâ laudem virtutis obterebant. Mater verò, poſt id factum, neque domum ad ſe filium admiſit, neque aſpexit; quin eum fratricidam impiumque deteſtans compellaret. Quibus rebus adeò eſt commotus, ut nonnunquam vitæ finem facere voluerit, atque ex ingratorum hominum conſpectu morte decedere.

*men before his Brother's Life, and thought it better to obey the Laws of his Country, than to rule over his Country. With this Mind he took Care to have his Brother the Uſurper ſlain by a Soothſayer, and their common Relation, to whom their Siſter, born of the ſame Parents, was married. He not only did not put a Hand* to the Work, *but he would not indeed ſee his Brother's Blood. For whilſt the Thing was doing, he was at a Diſtance upon the Watch, leſt any Life-guard-Man ſhould ſuccour him. This moſt noble Action of his was not approved of in the like Manner by all: For ſome thought natural Affection had been violated by him, and out of Envy endeavoured to leſſen the Praiſe of his Virtue. But his Mother, after that Fact, did neither permit her Son to come home to her, nor would look at him; but curſing him, called him the Murderer of his Brother, and a wicked Villain. With which Things he was ſo much moved, that ſometimes he had a Mind to put an End to his Life, and to withdraw by Death out of the Sight of ungrateful Men.*

Cap. II. Interim Dione Syracuſis interfecto, Dionyſius rurſus Syracuſarum potitus eſt. Cujus adverſarii opem à Corinthiis petiverunt, ducemque, quo in bello uterentur, poſtulârunt. Huc Timoleon miſſus, incredibili felicitate Dionyſium totâ Siciliâ depulit. Quem interficere poſſet, noluit, tutòque

Chap. II. *In the mean Time Dion being ſlain at Syracuſe, Dionyſius again got Syracuſe; whoſe Enemies begged Aſſiſtance of the Corinthians, and deſired a General whom they might make Uſe of in the War: Timoleon being ſent hither, drove Dionyſius out of all Sicily, with incredible good Fortune:* And *when he might have killed him, would not, and took*

que ut Corinthum perveniret, effecit, quòd utrorumque Dionysiorum opibus Corinthii sæpe adjuti fuerant: cujus benignitatis memoriam vo'ebat extare; eamque præclaram victoriam ducebat, in qua plus esset clementiæ quàm crudelitatis Postremo, ut non solùm auribus acciperetur, sed etiam oculis cerneretur, quem, & ex quanto regno ad quam fortunam detrusisset: post Dionysii decessum, cum Icetâ bellavit, qui adversatus fuerat Dionysio; quem non odio tyrannidis dissensisse, sed cupiditate, indicio fuit, quòd ipse, expulso Dionysio, imperium demittere noluit. Hoc superato, Timoleon maximas copias Carthaginiensium apud Crimissum flumen fugavit, ac satis habere coëgit, si liceret Africam obtinere, qui jam complures annos possessionem Siciliæ tenebant. Cepit etiam Mamercum, Italicum ducem, hominem bellicosum & potentem, qui tyrannos adjutum in Siciliam venerat.

*Care that he should come safe to Corinth, because the Corinthians had been often assisted by the Power of both the Dionysiuses; the Memory of which Kindness he had a Mind should continue; and he reckoned that a noble Victory, in which there was more of Clemency than of Cruelty. Finally, that it might not only be heard by the Ears, but seen by the Eyes, whom and from how great a Kingdom, to what a Fortune he had reduced; after the Departure of Dionysius, he made War with Icetas, who had opposed Dionysius; who did not contend with him, out of Hatred of his Tyranny, but out of a Desire of it; as this was a Proof, that he,* after *Dionysius* was *forced away, would not quit his Power. He being conquered, Timoleon overthrew a great Army of the Carthaginians, at the River Crimessus, and forced them to be content, if they could* but *keep Africa, who had now kept Possession of Sicily for several Years. He likewise took Mamercus, an Italian General, a warlike and a powerful Man, who had come into Sicily to help the Tyrants.*

CAP. III. Quibus rebus confectis, quum propter diuturnitatem belli non solùm regiones, sed etiam urbes desertas videret; conquisivit quos potuit, primùm Siculos, deinde Corintho arcessivit colonos, quòd ab his initio Syracusæ erant conditæ.

CHAP. III. *Which Things being done, when he saw not only the Country but the Cities likewise forsaken, by Reason of the long Continuance of the War; he sought out first* all *the Sicilians which he could, and then sent for Planters from Corinth, because Syracuse had been built at first by them. He restored*

ditæ. Civibus veteribus sua restituit, novis bello vacuefactas possessiones divisit; urbium mœnia disjecta, fanaque deleta refecit; civitatibus leges libertatemque reddidit; ex maximo bello tantum otium toti insulæ conciliavit, ut his conditor urbium earum, non illi qui initio deduxerant, videretur. Arcem Syracusis, quam muniverat Dionysius, ad urbem obsidendam, a fundamentis disjecit; cætera tyrannidis propugnacula demolitus est, deditque operam, ut quàm minimè multa vestigia servitutis manerent. Quum tantis esset opibus, ut etiam invitis imperare posset, tantum autem haberet amorem omnium Siculorum, ut nullo recusante regnum obtineret; maluit se diligi, quàm metui. Itaque, quum primùm potuit, imperium deposuit, & privatus Syracusis quod reliquum vitæ fuit, vixit. Neque verò id imperitè fecit; nam quod cæteri reges imperio vix potuerunt, hic benevolentiâ tenuit. Nullus honos huic defuit; neque postea Syracusis res ulla gesta est publica, de quâ priùs sit decretum, quàm Timoleontis sententia cognita. Nullius unquam consilium non modò antelatum, sed ne comparatum quidem est: neque id magis benevolentiâ factum est, quàm prudentiâ.

*restored to the old Inhabitants their own, and divided the Possessions* that were *made void* of Owners *by the War, to the new ones; he repaired the Walls of Cities* that had been *thrown down, and Temples* that had been *destroyed; he restored to the Cities their Laws and Liberty, and procured so much Quiet to the whole Island after a very great War, that he seemed to be the Founder of the Cities, and not those who at first had brought* the Colonies thither. *He demolished to the Foundations the Citadel at Syracuse, which Dionysius had built to awe the City; he pulled down the other Bulwarks of the Tyranny, and did his Endeavour, that as few Marks as possible of* the former *Servitude should remain. Though he was in so great Power, that he might have ruled over them,* tho' *against their Wills, and had so much the Love of all the Sicilians, that he might have had the Sovereignty, no-body refusing* him, *he chose rather to be beloved than feared. Therefore, as soon as he could, he laid down his Commission, and lived a private Person at Syracuse the remaining Part of his Life. Nor did he do that weakly; for what other Kings could scarcely do by their Power, he carried by the good Will* of the People: *He wanted no Honour; nor was any publick Thing done after at Syracuse, concerning which a Decree was made, before the Opinion of Timoleon* was *known. Not only no Man's Counsel was ever preferred before* his, *but not indeed compared with it:*

CAP. *Nor*

*Nor was that occasioned more by their good Will* for him, *than his Prudence.*

CAP. IV. Hîc quum ætate jam provectâ esset, sine ullo morbo lumina oculorum amisit: quam calamitatem ita moderatè tulit, ut neque eum querentem quisquam audierit, neque eo minùs privatis publicisque rebus interfuit: veniebat autem in theatrum, quum ibi concilium populi haberetur, propter valetudinem vectus jumentis junctis, atque ita de vehiculo, quæ videbantur, dicebat. Neque hoc illi quisquam tribuebat superbiæ; nihil enim unquam neque insolens, neque glorioſum ex ore ejus exiit: qui quidem, quum suas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quàm se in eâ re maximas dîs gratias agere atque habere, quòd quum Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimùm ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine agi putabat. Itaque suæ domi sacellum αὐτοματίας constituerat, idque sanctissimè colebat. Ad hanc hominis excellentem bonitatem mirabiles accesserunt casus: nam prælia maxima natali die suo fecit omnia; quo factum est, ut ejusdem natale festum haberet universa Sicilia. Huic quidam Lamestius, homo petulans & ingratus, vadimonium quum vellet imponere, quòd cum illo

CHAP. IV. *When he was advanced in Age, he lost the Sight of his Eyes without any Distemper* to occasion it; *which Misfortune he bore so meekly, that neither any one heard him complain, neither was he less engaged in private and public Business: But he came into the Theatre, when* any *Assembly of the People was held there, riding in a Chariot because of his Blindness, and so spoke from the Chariot what seemed proper. Nor did any one impute this to his Pride; for nothing ever, either insolent or boasting, came out of his Mouth: Who truly, when he heard his own Praises celebrated, never said any Thing else, than that in that Case he gave very great Thanks to the* immortal *Gods, that since they had resolved to put Sicily again into a good Condition, they had thought fit, that he, above all others, should be the Conductor* of that Affair. *For he thought that nothing of human Affairs was transacted without the Providence of the Gods. Wherefore he had built a Temple of Fortune in his own House, and frequented it most religiously. To this excellent Goodness of the Man, wonderful Accidents were superadded: For he fought all his greatest Battles upon his Birth-Day; whereby it came to pass that all Sicily kept his Birth-Day as a Festival. When one Lamestius, a saucy ungrateful Fellow, would needs*

illo se lege agere diceret; & complures concurrissent, qui procacitatem hominis manibus coërcere conarentur; Timoleon oravit omnes, Ne id facerent; namque, id ut Lamestio cæterisque liceret, se maximos labores summaque adisse pericula: hanc enim speciem libertatis esse, si omnibus, quod quisque vellet, legibus experiri liceret. Idem, quum quidam Lamestii similis, nomine Demænetus, in concione, populi de rebus gestis ejus detrahere cœpisset, ac nonnulla inveheretur in Timoleonta; dixit, Nunc, demum se voti esse damnatum; namque hoc à diis immortalibus semper precatum, ut talem libertatem restituerent Syracusanis, in quâ cuivis liceret, de quo vellet, impunè dicere. Hic quum diem supremum obisset, publicè à Syracusanis in gymnasio, quòd Timoleonteum appellatur, totâ celebrante Siciliâ, sepultus est.

*needs put Bail upon him, because he said he would go to Law with him, and several People gathered about him, who endeavoured to correct the Saucinesss of the Fellow by Blows: Timoleon begged of them all, that they would not do it; for that he had undergone the greatest Fatigues and Hazards, that that might be lawful for Lamestus and others; for this was a visible Appearance of Freedom, if it was allowed all People to try at Law what every one pleased. The same Man, when one like Lamestius, by Name Demænetus, had begun to detract from his Actions in an Assembly of the People, and inveighed somewhat against Timoleon; he said, That now he had his Wish; for he had always begged this of the immortal Gods, that they would restore such Freedom to the Syracusans, in which it might be allowed any one to speak his* Mind *with Impunity, of whom he would. When he died, he was buried at the publick Expence by the Syracusans, in the Gymnasium, which is called Timoleonteum, all Sicily celebrating* his Funeral.

## XXI.

## *De REGIBUS.*

### CAP. I.

HI ferè fuerunt Græciæ gentis duces, qui memoriâ digni videantur, præter reges: namque eos attingere noluimus, quòd omnium res gestæ separatim sunt relatæ: neque tamen hi admodum sunt multi. Lacedæmonius autem Agesilaus nomine, non potestate, fuit rex, sicut cæteri Spartani. Ex his verò, qui dominatum imperio tenuerunt excellentissimi fuerunt, (ut nos judicamus) Persarum Cyrus, & Darius Hystaspis filius; quorum uterque privatus virtute regnum est adeptus. Prior horum apud Massagetas in prælio cecidit: Darius senectute diem obiit supremum. Tres sunt præterea ejusdem generis, Xerxes, & duo Artaxerxes, Macrochir & Mnemon. Xerxi maximè est illustre, quod maximis post hominum memoriam exercitibus terrâ mariq; bellum intulit Græciæ. At

## XXI.

## *Of KINGS.*

### CHAP. I.

THese were nearly all the Generals of Greece, that seem worthy of Remembrance, besides the Kings; for we would not meddle with them, because the Actions of them all are separately related; neither yet are these very many. But the Lacedemonian Agesilaus was a King in Name, not in Power, as the rest of the Spartan Kings. But of those who held the Government with an absolute Sway, the most excellent were (as we judge) Cyrus King of the Persians, and Darius the Son of Hystaspes; both of which, being private Persons, got the Kingdom by their good Behaviour. The former of these fell in Battle amongst the Massagetæ. Darius died in old Age. There are three besides of the same Nation, Xerxes, and the two Artaxerxes, Macrochir, and Mnemon. The most illustrious Thing of Xerxes is, that he made War upon Greece by Land and Sea, with the greatest Armies that have been known since we have had any History of Mankind,

At Macrochir præcipuam habet laudem amplissimæ pulcherrimæque corporis formæ: quam incredibili ornavit virtute belli; namque illo Persarum nemo fuit manu fortior. Mnemon autem justitiæ famâ floruit. Nam quum matris suæ scelere amisisset uxorem tantùm indulsit dolori ut eum pietas vinceret. Ex his, duo eodem nomine morbo naturæ debitum reddiderunt: Tertius ab Artabano præfecto ferro interfectus est.

*Mankind. But Macrochir has a mighty Commendation* in Story, *for the large and most comely Make of his Person, which he adorned with an incredible Bravery and Conduct in War; for none of the Persons were more stout in Action than he. But Mnemon flourished in Reputation for Justice. For after he had lost his Wife by the wicked Contrivance of his Mother, he so far indulged his Sorrow, that his Duty to his Mother overcame it. Of these the Two of the same Name paid their Debt to Nature by a Disease: The Third was slain with the Sword by Artabanus, a Governor* of his.

Cap. II. Ex Macedonum autem genere, duo multò cæteros antecesserunt rerum gestarum gloriâ; Philippus Amyntæ filius, & Alexander Magnus. Horum alter Babylone morbo consumptus est: Philippus Ægis à Pausaniâ, quum spectatum ludos iret juxta theatrum occisus est. Unus Epirotes, Pyrrhus, qui cum populo Romano bellavit. Is quum Argos oppidum oppugnaret in Peloponneso, lapide ictus interiit. Unus item Siculus, Dionysius prior: nam & manu fortis & belli peritus fuit: &, id quod in tyranno non facilè reperitur, minimè libidinosus, non luxuriosus, non avarus, nullius rei denique cupidus, nisi singularis perpetuique imperii, ob eamque rem crudelis:

Chap. II. *But, of the Nation of the Macedonians, Two much excelled the rest in the Glory of their Exploits; Philip the Son of Amyntas, and Alexander the Great. One of these was taken off by a Distemper at Babylon; Philip was slain at Ægæ by Pausanias, as he was going to see the* publick *Games nigh the Theatre.* There was *one of Epire, Pyrrhus, who made War with the Roman People. He died of a Stroke with a Stone, when he was attacking the Town of Argos in Peloponnesus.* There was *one likewise of Sicily, Dionysius the First; for he was both brave in Action, and skilful in War; and, what is not easily found in a Tyrant, he was not at all lustful, not luxurious, not covetous, finally, very desirous of nothing but of arbitrary*

crudelis: Nam dum id ſtuduit munire, nullius pepercit vitæ quem ejus inſidiatorem putaret. Hic, quum virtute tyrannidem ſibi peperiſſet, magnâ retinuit felicitate, majorque annos ſexaginta natus, deceſſit florente regno: neque, in tam multis annis, cujuſquam ex ſuâ ſtirpe funus vidit, quum ex tribus uxoribus liberos procreâſſet, multique ei nati eſſent nepotes.

*Power and for Life, and for that Reaſon cruel: For whilſt he endeavoured to ſecure that, he ſpared no Man's Life, whom he thought to be in a Plot againſt it. He, after he had got the Government by his able Management, kept it with great good Fortune; and died above ſixty Years of Age, in a flouriſhing Kingdom: nor, in ſo many Years, did he ſee the Funeral of any of his Iſſue, tho' he had Children by three Wives, and had many Grandſons born to him.*

CAP. III. Fuerunt præterea multi reges ex amicis Alexandri Magni, qui, poſt obitum ejus, imperia ceperunt: In his, Antigonus, & hujus filius Demetrius, Lyſimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemæus. Ex his Antigonus, quum adverſus Seleucum Lyſimachumque dimicaret, in prælio occiſus eſt. Pari letho affectus eſt Lyſimachus à Seleuco: nam ſocietate diſſolutâ, bellum inter ſe geſſerunt. At Demetrius, quum filiam ſuam Seleuco in matrimonium dediſſet, neque eò magis fida inter eos amicitia manere potuiſſet, captus bello, in cuſtodiâ ſocer generi periit morbo: neque ita multo poſt, Seleucus à Ptolemæo Cerauno dolo interfectus eſt; quem, ille, à patre expulſum Alexandriâ alienarum opum indigentem, receperat. Ipſe autem Ptolemæus, quum, vivus, filio regnum tradidiſſet, ab

CHAP. III. *There were beſides many Kings of the Friends of Alexander the Great, who, after his Death, ſeized the Government: Amongſt theſe, Antigonus and his Son Demetrius, Lyſimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy. Of theſe, Antigonus was ſlain in a Battle, when he fought againſt Seleucus and Lyſimachus. Lyſimachus was taken off with the like Death, by Seleucus: For, upon a Breach of the Alliance they carried on a War together. But Demetrius, after he had given his Daughter to Seleucus in Marriage, and the Alliance betwixt them was never the more faithfully obſerved for that; the Father-in-law, being taken in War, died in Cuſtody of his Son-in-law; and not long after, Seleucus was treacherouſly ſlain by Ptolemy Ceraunus; whom,* when *driven by his own Father out of Alexandria, and in need of others Relief, he had entertained. But Ptolemy having delivered,*

ab illo eodem vitâ privatus dicitur. De quibus quoniam satis dictum putamus, non incommodum videtur, non præterire Hamilcarem & Hannibalem; quos & animi magnitudine, & calliditate, omnes in Africâ natos præstitisse constat.

*livered*, whilst *living*, *his Kingdom to his Son*, *is said to have been deprived of his Life by that same* Son. *Concerning whom because we think enough has been said*, *it does not seem improper*, *not to pass by Hamilcar and Hannibal*; *who*, *it is certain*, *did excel all that were born in Africa*, *both in Greatness of Mind*, *and Subtilty*.

## XXII.

## *HAMILCAR.*

### CAP. I.

HAmilcar, Hannibalis filius, cognomine Barchas, Carthaginiensis, primo Punico bello, sed temporibus extremis, admodum adolescentulus, in Siciliâ præesse cœpit exercitui. Quum ante ejus adventum, & mari & terrâ malè res gererentur Carthaginiensium; ipse ubi affuit, nunquam hosti cessit, neque locum nocendi dedit; sæpèque, è contrario, hostem occasione datâ lacessivit, semperque superior discessit. Quo facto quum penè omnia in Siciliâ Pœni amisissent, ille Erycem sic defendit, ut bellum eo loco gestum non videretur. Interim, Carthaginienses classe apud insulas Ægates à C. Luctatio Consule Romanorum superati, statuerunt belli finem facere, eamque rem arbitrio permiserunt Hamilcaris. Ille etsi flagrabat belli cupiditate, tamen paci serviendum putavit, quòd patriam exhaustam sumptibus, diutiùs calamitatem belli ferre non posse intelligebat; sed ita ut statim

## XXII.

## *HAMILCAR.*

### CHAP. I.

*HAmilcar, the Son of Hannibal, by Surname Barchas, the Carthaginian, began, when very young, to command an Army in Sicily, in the first Carthaginian War, but about the latter End* of it. *And whereas, before his coming there, the Affairs of the Carthaginians were ill manag'd, both by Sea and by Land; when he came there, he never flinched before the Enemy, nor gave them* any *Opportunity of hurting him; and oftentimes, on the contrary,* when *an Opportunity offered, he attacked the Enemy, and always came off Superior. Upon which, tho' the Carthaginians had almost lost all in Sicily, he so defended Eryx, that the War did not seem to have been carried on at all in that Place. In the mean Time, the Carthaginians being routed by Sea, at the Islands called Ægates, by Caius Luctatius the Consul of the Romans, resolved to make an End of the War, and left that Matter to the Discretion of Hamilcar. He, altho' he burnt with Desire of* carrying on the *War, yet thought it necessary*

ſtatim mente agitaret, ſi paululo modo res eſſent refectæ, bellum renovare, Romanoſque armis perſequi, donec aut virtute viciſſent, aut victi manum dediſſent. Hoc conſilio pacem conciliavit; in quâ tanta fuit ferocia, ut quum Catullus negaret ſe bellum compoſiturum, niſi ille cum ſuis qui Erycem tenuerant, armis relictis Sicilia decederent; ſuccumbente patriâ, ipſe perieturum ſe potiùs dixerit, quàm cum tanto flagitio domum rediret; non enim ſuæ eſſe virtutis, arma à patriâ accepta adverſus hoſtes, adverſariis tradere. Hujus pertinaciæ pœnitet Catullus.

*ſary to endeavour after Peace, becauſe he was ſenſible, that his Country, being exhauſted by the Charges of the War, was not able to bear the Diſtreſs* of it *any longer; but ſo, that he immediately purpoſed in his Mind, if their Affairs ſhould be but a little recruited, to renew the War, and to fall upon the Romans with Arms, till either they conquered by their Valour, or, being conquered, gave up the Cauſe. With this Deſign he made a Peace, in which ſo great was his Reſolution, that when Catullus denied that he would agree upon ending the War, unleſs he with his Men, that held Eryx, quitting their Arms, left Sicily;* tho' *his Country was ſinking, he ſaid, he would periſh rather than return Home, with ſo great a Scandal; for it was not ſuitable* to his *Conduct, to deliver up his Arms, received from his Country againſt its Enemies, to his Adverſaries. Catullus yielded to his Reſolution.*

Cap. II. At ille, ut Carthaginem venit, multo aliter, ac ſperabat, rempublicam ſe habentem cognovit. Namque diuturnitate externi mali tantum exarſit inteſtinum bellum, ut nunquam pari in periculo fuerit Carthago, niſi quum deleta eſt. Primò, mercenarii milites, qui adverſus Romanos fuerunt, deſciverunt, quorum numerus erat viginti millium: Hi totam abalienárunt Africam, ipſam Carthaginem oppugnárunt. Quibus

Chap. II. *But he, as ſoon as he came to Carthage, found the Commonwealth to be quite otherwiſe than he expected. For ſo great a Civil War had broken out,* occaſioned *by the long Continuance of the Foreign War, that Carthage was never in the like Danger, but when it was deſtroyed. Firſt* of all, *the Foreign Soldiers in their Pay, who had been* employed *againſt the Romans, revolted, whoſe Number was twenty Thouſand: Theſe drew along with them all Africa, and*

Quibus malis adeò sunt Pœni perterriti, ut auxilia etiam à Romanis petiverint, eaque impetrârint. Sed extremò, quum propè jam ad desperationem perveniissent, Hamilcarem imperatorem fecerunt: Is non solùm hostes à muris Carthaginis removit, quum amplius centum millia facta essent armatorum; sed etiam eò compulit, ut locorum angustiis clausi, plures fame, quàm ferro, interirent. Omnia oppida abalienata, in his Uticam atque Hipponem, valentissima totius Africæ, restituit patriæ. Neque eo fuit contentus, sed etiam fines imperii propagavit; totâ Africâ tantum otium reddidit, ut nullum in eâ bellum videretur multis annis fuisse.

*and attacked Carthage itself. With which Misfortune the Carthaginians were so terrified, that they begged Assistance even from the Romans and obtained it. But at last, when they were come now almost to Despair, they made Hamilcar their General: He not only drove the Enemies from the Walls of Carthage, though they were become above an hundred thousand armed Men; but likewise reduced them to that, that being inclosed within a narrow Place, more of them died by Famine than by the Sword. He restored all the revolted Towns, and amongst these Utica and Hippo, the strongest of all Africa, to his Country. Nor was he content with that, but he likewise extended the Bounds of their Empire; and restored such a Peace throughout all Africa, that there seemed not to have been any War in it for many Years.*

CAP. III. Rebus his ex sententiâ peractis, fidenti animo, atque infesto Romanis, quò facilius causam bellandi reperiret, effecit, ut imperator cum exercitu in Hispaniam mitteretur; eòque secum duxit filium Hannibalem, annorum novem. Erat præterea cum eo adolescens illustris & formosus, Hasdrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius, quam par erat, ab Hamilcare loquebantur; non enim maledici tanto viro deesse poterant. Quò factum est, ut à præfecto morum Hasdrubal

CHAP. III. *These Things being performed according to his Wish, with a Mind full of Expectations, and incensed against the Romans, that he might the more easily find out a Pretence for making War, he contrived to be sent General with an Army into Spain; and thither he carried along with him his Son Hannibal, nine Years* old. *There was besides with him an illustrious and beautiful Youth, Hasdrubal, who, some said, was beloved more scandalously than was fitting, by Hamilcar: for Backbiters could not be wanting to so great a Man; from whence it*

bal cum eo vetaretur esse. Huic ille filiam suam in matrimonium dedit, quòd moribus eorum non poterat interdici socero gener. De hoc ideo mentionem fecimus, quod, Hamilcare occiso, ille exercitui præfuit, reliquas magnas gessit: & princeps largitione vetustos pervertit mores Carthaginensium; ejusdemque post mortem, Hannibal ab exercitu accepit imperium. At Hamilcar, postea quam mare transiit, in Hispaniamque venit, magnas res secundâ gessit fortunâ; maximas bellicosissimasque gentes subegit: equis, armis, viris, pecuniâ, totam locupletavit Africam. Hic quum in Italiam bellum inferre meditaretur, nono anno postquam in Hispaniam venerat, in prælio pugnans adversus Vettones occisus est. Hujus perpetuum odium erga Romanos maximè concitâsse videtur secundum bellum Punicum: namque Hannibal, filius ejus, assiduis patris obtestationibus eò est perductus, ut interire, quàm non Romanos experiri mallet.

*it was, that Hasdrubal was forbid to be with him, by the Overseer of the* Public *Manners. He gave him his Daughter in Marriage, because according to their Fashions, a Son-in-law could not be discharged* the Company of *his Father-in-law. We have therefore made mention of him, because, when Hamilcar was slain, he commanded the Army, and performed great Things: And first of* all *corrupted the ancient Manners of the Carthaginians, by his distributing Money* to the Troops: *and after his Death, Hannibal received the Command from the Army. But Hamilcar, after he passed the Sea and was come into Spain, performed great Things with good Success: He subdued very great and warlike Nations: He enriched all Africa with Horses, Arms, Men,* and *Money. Whilst he was intending to carry the War into Italy, he was slain fighting in a Battle against the Vettones, in the ninth Year after he came into Spain. His constant Hatred of the Romans seems chiefly to have raised the second Carthaginian War: For Hannibal his Son was brought to that by the perpetual Infamies of his Father, that he chose rather to perish than not to make Trial of the Romans.*

## XXIII.

## *HANNIBAL.*

### CAP I.

HAnnibal, Hamilcaris filius, Carthaginensis. Si verum est, quod nemo dubitat, ut populus Romanus omnes gentes virtute superârit, non est inficiandum, Hannibalem tanto præstitisse cæteros imperatores prudentiâ, quantò populus Romanus antecedat fortitudine cunctas nationes: Nam quotiescunque cum eo congressus est in Italiâ, semper discessit superior. Quod nisi domi civium suorum invidiâ debilitatus esset, Romanos videtur superare potuisse. Sed multorum obtrectatio devicit unius virtutem. Hic autem, velut hæreditate relictum, odium paternum erga Romanos sic con-

## XXIII.

## *HANNIBAL.*

### CHAP. I.

*HAnnibal, the Son of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian. If it be true, which nobody doubts, * that the Roman People have excelled all Nations in Bravery and Conduct, it is not to be denied, that Hannibal as much exceeded other Commanders in Prudence, as the Roman People exceed all Nations in Valour: † For as oft as he engaged with them in Italy, he always came off superior. And unless he had been weakened by the Envy of his Countrymen at Home, he seems to have been capable of conquering the Romans. But the Detraction of many prevailed against the great Abilities of one. He so firmly fixed in his* Mind *his Father's Hatred of the Romans, left him, as it were, by Inheri-*

* Our Author has here expressed himself after a very unusual Manner, if the Reading be good. When a Sentence, that is a positive Affirmation or Negation, is the Subject or Object of a Verb, *i. e.* answers the Question, What? before or after it, the Accusative Case and Infinitive Mood are commonly used; but sometimes, though very rarely, *quod* with the Nominative, and Indicative, or Subjunctive. There are some of Opinion, that *quod* and *ut* have in this Period changed Places, and that we ought to read thus: *Si verum est, ut nemo dubitat quod.*

† I wonder our Author should affirm a Thing so notoriously false, as is plain from all other Accounts. See *Livy* and *Plutarch*.

confirmavit ut priùs animam, quàm id depoſuerit? qui quidem quum patriâ pulſus eſſet, & alienarum opum indigeret, nunquam deſtiteret animo bellare cum Romanis.

*Inheritance, that he laid down his Life before that: Who, even when he was baniſhed his Country, and ſtood in need of other People's Relief, never ceaſed in his Mind to make War with the Romans.*

Cap. II. Nam, ut omittam Philippum, quem abſens hoſtem reddidit Romanis; omnium his temporibus potentiſſimus rex Antiochus fuit. Hunc tantâ cupiditate incendit bellandi, ut uſque à rubro mari arma conatus ſit inferre Italiæ: Ad quem quum legati veniſſent Romani, qui de ejus voluntate explorarent, darentque operam conſiliis clandeſtinis, ut Hannibalem in ſuſpicionem regi adducerent, tanquam, ab ipſis corruptum alia atque antea ſentiret; neque id fruſtrà feciſſent: idque Hannibal comperiſſet, ſeque ab interioribus conſiliis ſegregari vidiſſet: tempore dato, adiit ad regem, atq; quum multa de fide ſuâ, & odio in Romanos commemorâſſet, hoc adjunxit: *Pater* (inquit) *meus Hamilcar, puerulo me utpote non ampliùs novem annos nato, in Hiſpaniam imperator proficiſcens, Carthagine Jovi Optimo Maximo hoſtias immolavit; quæ divina res cùm conficiebatur, quæſivit à me, Vellemne jecum in*

Chap. II. *For to ſay nothing of Philip, whom,* though *at a Diſtance* from him, *he made an Enemy to the Romans; Antiochus was the moſt powerful Prince of all in thoſe Times. He fired him with ſo ſtrong a Paſſion for making War, that he endeavoured to bring his Arms upon Italy, even as far as from the Red Sea: To whom when the Roman Ambaſſadors were come to make a Diſcovery of his Intention, and aid their Endeavour, by clandeſtine Contrivances, to bring Hannibal in Suſpicion with the King, as if, being bribed by them, he had other Sentiments than formerly; and had not done that in vain; and Hannibal perceived it, and ſaw that he was ſecluded from his ſecret Counſels: an Opportunity being given him, he went to the King; and after he had ſaid much* to him, *about his Faithfulneſs* to him, *and his Hatred of the Romans, he added this:* My Father Hamilcar, *ſays he,* when I was a little Boy, as being no more than nine Years old, going General into Spain, offered Sacrifices at Carthage to Jupiter the * Beſt and the Greateſt; which this divine Worſhip was performing,

Cc

* Theſe are Epithets frequently applied by Heathen Authors to their God Jupiter.

*in castra proficisci? Id quum libenter accepissem, atque ab eo petere cœpissem, Ne dubitaret ducere*; tum ille, *Faciam*, inquit, *si fidem mihi, quam postulo, dederis. Simulque ad aram adduxit, apud quam sacrificare instituerat*; *eamque, cæteris remotis, tenentem, jurare jussit, Nunquam me in amicitiâ cum Romanis fore. Id ego jusjurandum patri datum, usque ad hanc diem ita conservavi, ut nemini dubium esse debeat, quin reliquo tempore eâdem mente sim futurus. Quare, si quid amicè de Romanis cogitabis, non imprudenter feceris, si me celâris: quum quidem bellum parabis, teipsum frustraberis, si non me in eo principem posueris.*

ing, he enquired of me, if I would go along with him to the Camp? As I willingly accepted of that, and began to beg of him, that he would not scruple to carry me; *upon that he says*, I will do it, if you will give me the Promise which I demand of you. And at the same Time he brought me to the Altar at which he had begun to sacrifice; and commanded me, the rest being ordered away, holding that, to swear, That I would never be at Friendship with the Romans. I have kept that Oath sworn to my Father, till this Day, that it ought to be a Doubt with nobody, but that I shall be of the same Mind for the Time to come. Wherefore if you design any thing friendly as to the Romans, you will not do unwisely, if you conceal it from me; but if, indeed, you will prepare for War, you will deceive yourself, if you do not place me the foremost in that Affair.

CAP. III. Hac igitur ætate cum patre in Hispaniam profectus est. Cujus post obitum, Hasdrubale imperatore substecto, equitatui omni præfuit. Hoc quoquè interfecto, exercitus summam imperii ad eum detulit: id Carthaginem delatum, publicè comprobatum est. Sic Hannibal minor quinque & viginti annis natus, imperator factus, proximo triennio omnes gentes Hispaniæ bello subegit. Saguntum fœderatam civitatem vi expugnavit:

CHAP. III. *Wherefore he went at this Age with his Father into Spain. After whose Death Hasdrubal being put in his Room* as *General, he commanded all the Horse. He too being slain, the Army gave the chief Command to him*; *which, being carried to Carthage, was approved of by the Government. Thus Hannibal, being made General when less than five and twenty Years old, in the following three Years subdued all the Nations of Spain in War. He took by Force Saguntum, a City in Alliance* with the Romans: *He*

vit: tres exercitus maximos comparavit: ex his unum in Africam misit, alterum cum Hasdrubale fratre in Hispaniâ reliquit, tertium in Italiam secum duxit: saltum Pyrenæum transiit: quàcunque iter fecit, cum omnibus incolis conflixit: neminem nisi victum dimisit. Ad Alpes postea quam venit, quæ Italiam ab Gallià sejungunt, quas nemo unquam cum exercitu ante eum, præter Herculem Graium, transierat, quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur; Alpicos conantes prohibere transitum concidit; loca patefecit, itinera munit, effecitque, ut eà elephantus oneratus ire posset, quà antea unus homo inermis vix poterat repere. Hàc copias traduxit, in Italiamque pervenit.

*He raised three very great Armies: He sent one of these into Africa; another he left with Hasdrubal his Brother in Spain; the third he led along with him into Italy. He passed the * Pyrenean Forest; wheresoever he made his March he engaged with all the Inhabitants* of the Country; *he sent none away any otherwise than conquered. After he came to the Alps, which divide Italy from Gaul, which nobody had passed with an Army before him, besides Hercules the Grecian, from which Fact that Forest is called at this Day the Grecian* Forest; *he cut to Pieces the Alpians, endeavouring to hinder his Passage; he opened the Places, made Roads, and brought it to pass, that a loaded Elephant might go, where before a single Man unarmed could scarcely creep. This Way he drew over his Troops, and came into Italy.*

Cap. IV. Conflixerat apud Rhodanum cum P. Cornelio Scipione consule, eumque pepulerat. Cum hoc eodem de Clastidio, apud Padum decernit, fauciumque inde ac fugatum dimittit. Tertio, idem

Chap. IV. *He had engaged at the † Rhone with Publius Cornelius Scipio the Consul, and had defeated him. He engages with the same near the Po, not far from Clastidium; he sends him away from thence wounded and routed.*



* The Pyrenean Saltus is a great Ridge of Mountains betwixt France and Spain, reaching from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean. Our Author calls it by the Name of Saltus, because it was then almost wholly covered with Wood.

† Our Author was, in all likelihood, mistaken here; for Livy, a much better Writer in all Respects, gives a different Account, *i. e.* that Scipio designed to have engaged him; but finding Hannibal gone from his Camp, altered his Intention, and put his Men on board his Ships, to come to Italy.

idem Scipio, cum collegâ Tiberio Longo, ad Trebiam, adversus eum venit. Cum his manum conseruit, utrumque profligavit. Inde per Ligures Appenninum transiit, petens Hetruriam. Hoc itinere adeò gravi morbo afficitur oculorum, ut postea nunquam dextro æquè bene usus sit. Quâ valetudine quum etiam premeretur, lectîcâque ferretur, C. Flaminium consulem apud Trasimenum cum exercitu insidiis circumventum, occidit: neque multò post C. Centenium prætorem, cum delectâ manu saltus occupantem. Hinc in Apuliam pervenit: ibi obviam ei venerunt duo consules, C. Terentius Varro, & Paulus Æmilius: Utriusque exercitus uno prælio fugavit: L. Paulum consulem occidit, & aliquot præterea consulares; in his Cn. Servilium Geminum, qui anno superiore fuerat consul.

*The same Scipio, with his Colleague Tiberius Longus, came against him a third Time,* * *at Trebia. He engaged them, and defeated them both. After that he passed the* † *Appenine* Mountain *through* the Country of *the* ‡ *Ligurians, marching for* § *Etruria. In this March he was afflicted with such a violent Distemper in his Eyes, that he never had the Use of his Right* Eye *so well after: With which Malady tho' he was* then *troubled, and carried in a Chair, he killed C. Flaminius the Consul, at the* ** *Trasimene Lake, trepanned with his Army by an Ambush: and not long after C. Centenius the Pretor, seizing upon the Forests with a choice Body of Troops. After that he came into* †† *Apulia. There the two Consuls, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Paulus Emilius, met him: He routed both their Armies in one Battle: He slew L. Paulus the Consul, and some consular Gentlemen besides; amongst these Cn. Servilius Geminus, who had been Consul the Year before.*

CAP. V. Hâc pugnâ pugnatâ Romam profectus est, nullo resistente. In propinquis urbis montibus moratus

CHAP. V. *After this Battle was fought he marched to Rome, nobody resisting him. He made a Halt in the Mountains, nigh the City.*

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* A River falling into the Po on the South Side.

† The Appenine is a Mountain that runs quite through the Middle of Italy.

‡ The Ligurians were a People of Italy, bordering on France, betwixt the Sea and the Po.

§ Etruria is a Country below Liguria in Italy.

** The Trasimene Lake is in Etruria.

†† A Country in the South Part of Italy.

tus est. Quum aliquot ibi dies castra habuisset, & reverteretur Capuam, C. Fabius Maximus, Dictator Romanus, in agro Falerno ei se objecit. Hinc, clausus locorum angustiis, noctu sine ullo detrimento exercitûs se expedivit. Fabio callidissimo imperatori dedit verba: Namque obductâ nocte, sarmenta in cornibus jumentorum deligata incendit, ejusque generis multitudinem magnam dispalatam immisit. Quo repentino objectu viso, tantum terrorem injecit exercitui Romanorum, ut egredi extra vallum nemo sit ausus. Hanc post rem gestam, non ita multis diebus, M. Minutium Rufum magistrum equitum, pari ac dictatorem imperio, dolo perductum in prælio fugavit. T. Sempronium Gracchum, iterum consulem, in Lucanis absens, in insidias inductum sustulit. M. Claudium Marcellum, quinquies consulem, apud Venusiam pari modo interfecit. Longum est enumerare prælia: Quare hoc unum satis erit dictum, ex quo intelligi possit, quantus ille fuerit: Quamdiu in Italiâ fuit,

*City. When he had kept his Camp there for some Days, and was returning to* * *Capua, Q. Fabius Maximus, the Roman* † *Dictator, threw himself in his Way in the Territory of Falernum. Though inclosed in a narrow Place, he extricated himself thence in the Night-time, without any Diminution of his Army. He put a Trick upon the most crafty Commander Fabius: For* after *Night* was *come on, he set fire to* some *Twigs, tied upon the Horns of* some *Bullocks, and sent up a vast Number of that Sort* of Cattle *scattered here and there. Which sudden Appearance being seen, it struck so great a Terror into the Army of the Romans, that none durst go without their Ramparts. Not many Days after this Exploit, he routed M. Minutius Rufus, Master of the Horse,* invested *with the same Power as the Dictator himself, being drawn to an Engagement by a Wile. He* likewise *took off Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a second Time Consul, in* the Country of *the Lucanians, being drawn into an Ambush: In like Manner he cut off M. Claudius Marcellus, a fifth Time Consul, at Venusia. It is* too *long to reckon up* all *the Battles: Wherefore this one Thing will be enough* to be *said, from whence it*

* A very great City of Campania, a Country towards the Bottom of Italy.

† The Dictator was an extraordinary Officer, nominated in Times of Danger, and invested with great Power, almost absolute, but confined within the Space of Six Months. He had an Officer under him, called Master of the Horse, because in the Day of Battle he commanded the Horse, as the Dictator did the Foot.

fuit, nemo ei in acie restitit: nemo adversus eum, post Cannensem pugnam, in campo castra posuit.

*it may be understood, how great a Man he was: So long as he was in Italy, nobody could stand before him in the Field: Nobody, after the Battle of Cannæ, pitched his Camp in the Plain against him.*

CAP. VI. Hic invictus patriam defensum revocatus, bellum gessit adversus P. Scipionis filium, quem ipse primum apud Padum, tertio apud Trebiam fugaverat. Cum hoc, exhaustis jam patriæ facultatibus, cupivit impræsentiarum bellum componere, quò valentior postea congrederetur. In colloquium convenit; conditiones non convenerunt. Post id factum, paucis diebus, apud Zamam cum eodem conflixit: pulsus (incredibile dictu!) biduo & duabus noctibus Adrumetum pervenit, quod abest à Zamâ circiter millia passuum trecenta. In hâc fugâ, Numidæ, qui simul cum eo acie excesserant, insidiati sunt ei: quos non solùm effugit, sed etiam ipsos oppressit; Adrumeti reliquos ex fugâ collegit; novis delectibus, paucis diebus, multos contraxit.

CHAP. VI. *This unconquered Man being called Home to defend his Country, carried on the War against the Son of that P. Scipio, whom he had routed first at the Rhone, again at the Po, and a third Time at Trebia. The Wealth of his Country being exhausted, he was desirous to make an End of the War by Treaty with him for that Time, that he might engage* the Romans *afterwards*, when *more able. He came to a Conference* with him; *the Articles were not agreed upon. A few Days after that Transaction he engaged with the same at* * *Zama; being routed*, (it is *incredible to be said!*) *in two Days and two Nights he came to* † *Adrumetum, which is about three hundred Miles distant from Zama. In this Flight,* some *Numidians, who had come out of the Battle with him, formed a Plot against him; whom he not only escaped, but likewise killed. At Adrumetum he picked up those* that were *left after the Flight*; and *by new Levies, in a few Days, raised a great many.*

CAP. VII. Quum in apparando acerrime esset occu-

CHAP. VII. *Whilst he was mighty busy in making Preparations,*

* Zama was a Town of Africa, in Numidia Propria, South-West from Carthage.

† Adrumetum, a Town of Africa, in the Province of Byzacium upon the Sea, to the Eastward of Carthage.

cupatus, Carthaginenſes bellum cum Romanis compoſuerunt. Ille, nihilo ſeciùs, exercitui poſtea præfuit, reſque in Africâ geſſit; itemque Mago frater ejus, uſque ad Publium Sulpicium & Caium Aurelium conſules. His enim magiſtratibus, legati Carthaginenſes Romam venerunt, qui ſenatui populoque Romano gratias agerent, quòd cum his pacem feciſſent, ob eamque rem coronâ aureâ eos donarent, ſimulquè peterent, ut obſides eorum Fregellis eſſent, captivique redderentur. His ex ſenatuſconſulto reſponſum eſt, Munus eorum gratum acceptumque eſſe; obſides quo loco rogarent, futuros; captivos non remiſſuros, quòd Hannibalem, cujus opera ſuſceptum bellum foret, inimiciſſimum nomini Romano, & nunc cum imperio apud exercitum haberent; itemque fratrem ejus Magonem. Hoc reſponſo Carthaginenſes cognito, Hannibalem domum Magonemq; revocârunt. Huc ut rediit, prætor factus eſt poſtquam rex fuerat, anno ſecundo & viceſimo. Ut enim Romæ conſules, ſic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. In eo magiſtratu pari

*tions, the Carthaginians ended the War by Treaty with the Romans. He, notwithſtanding, afterwards commanded the Army, and performed* ſeveral *Actions in Africa; and likewiſe Mago his Brother, until P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius* were *Conſuls. For under theſe Magiſtrates, Carthaginian Ambaſſadors came to Rome to give Thanks to the Senate and People of Rome, becauſe they had made Peace with them, and to preſent them with a Golden Crown upon that Account; and at the ſame Time to requeſt, that their Hoſtages might be at* * *Fregellæ, and their Priſoners be reſtored. To theſe Anſwer was made by Order of the Senate, That their Preſent was grateful and acceptable; that the Hoſtages ſhould be in the Place they deſired;* but *that they would not ſend back the Priſoners, becauſe they had Hannibal, by whoſe Means the War had been occaſioned, a bitter Enemy to the Roman Name, even now with a Command at the Army; and likewiſe his Brother Mago. The Carthaginians, having heard this Anſwer, ſent for Hannibal and Mago home. He, as ſoon as he returned,* † *was made Prætor, in the two and twentieth Year after he had been made King. For as Conſuls* are made *at Rome, ſo at Carthage every Year two Kings were made for a Year. In that Office*

* Fregellæ is a Town of Latium, or nigh the Borders of Campania, in Italy.

† A Sort of Lord Chief Juſtice, or Superintendant in their Courts of Judicature.

pari diligentiâ se Hannibal præbuit, ac fuerat in bello: Namque effecit, ex novis vectigalibus non solùm ut esset pecunia, quæ Romanis ex fœdere penderetur, sed etiam superesset, quæ in ærario poneretur. Deinde anno post præturam, M. Claudio, Lucio Furio Coss. Romani legati Carthaginem venerunt; hos Hannibal sui exposcendi gratiâ missos ratus, priusquam his senatus daretur, navem conscendit clam, atque in Syriam ad Antiochum profugit. Hâc re palam factâ, Pœni naves duas, quæ eum comprehenderent, si possent consequi, miserunt; bona ejus publicârunt, domum à fundamentis disjecerunt; ipsum exulem judicârunt.

*Office Hannibal behaved himself with the like Diligence, as he had done in the War: For he took care not only that there should be Money from the new Taxes, to be paid the Romans, according to the Treaty, but likewise that there should be an Overplus to be laid up in the Treasury. Then a Year after his Pretorship,* when *M. Claudius and L. Furius* were *Consuls, Roman Ambassadors came to Carthage; Hannibal supposing they were sent upon Account of demanding him, before* an Audience of *the Senate was given them, privately goes aboard a Ship, and fled into Syria to Antiochus. This Thing being made publick, the Carthaginians sent two Ships to seize him, if they could overtake him; they confiscated his Estate, they pulled down his House to the Foundations,* and *declared him an Exile.*

CAP. VIII. At Hannibal anno tertio postquam domo profugerat, L. Cornelio, Quinto Minutio Coss. cum quinque navibus Africam accessit, in finibus Cyrenæorum, si fortè Carthaginenses ad bellum, Antiochi spe fiduciâque, inducere posset; cui jam persuaserat, ut cum exercitibus in Italiam proficisceretur. Huc Magonem fratrem excivit. Id ubi Pœni resciverunt, Magonem, eâdem, qua fratrem absentem, pœnâ affecerunt. Illi, desperatis rebus, quum solvissent naves, ac vela ventis de-

CHAP. VIII. *But Hannibal, in the third Year after he fled from Home,* when *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Minutius* were *Consuls, came with five Ships to Africa in the Country of the Cyreneans, if perhaps he might induce the Carthaginians to a War, through the Hope and Confidence of Antiochus's* Support; *whom he had now perswaded to go with his Armies into Italy. Hither he sent for his Brother Mago. When the Carthaginians understood that, they punished Mago with the same Punishment as his absent Brother. Their Condition being desperate, after they had loosed their Ships, and*

dediſſent, Hannibal ad Antiochum pervenit. De Magonis interitu duplex memoria prodita eſt; namque alii naufragio, alii à ſervis ipſius interfectum eum ſcriptum reliquerunt. Antiochus autem, ſi tam in agendo bello parere voluiſſet conſiliis ejus, quàm in ſuſpiciendo inſtituerat, propiùs Tiberi quàm Thermopylis de ſummâ imperii dimicâſſet: quem etſi multa ſtultè conari videbat, tamen nullâ deſeruit in re. Præfuit paucis navibus, quas ex Syriâ juſſus erat in Aſiam ducere, hiſque adverſus Rhodiorum claſſem in Pamphylio mari conflixit; quo quum multitudine adverſariorum ſui ſuperarentur, ipſe, quo cornu rem geſſit, fuit ſuperior.

*and given their Sails to the Winds, Hannibal came to Antiochus. There is a double Account given of Mago's Death; for ſome have left upon Record, that* * he periſhed *by Shipwreck; others, that he was ſlain by his Slaves. But Antiochus, if he would have obeyed his Advice, as well in carrying on the War, as he had reſolved in undertaking it, would have fought nearer Tiber than Thermopylæ for the Empire of the World: Whom, tho' he ſaw enterpriſe many Things fooliſhly, yet he forſook in nothing. He commanded a few Ships, which he had been ordered to bring out of Syria into Aſia, and with theſe he engaged againſt the Fleet of the Rhodians in the Pamphylian Sea; in which* Fight, *tho' his Men were overpowered by the Numbers of their Enemies, he was* however *ſuperior in that Wing in which he acted.*

CAP. IX. Antiocho fugato, verens ne dederetur, quod ſine dubio accidiſſet, ſi ſui feciſſet poteſtatem, Cretam ad Gortynios venit, ut ibi, quò ſe conferret, conſideraret. Vidit autem vir omnium callidiſſimus, magno ſe fore periculo, niſi quid prævidiſſet, propter avaritiam Cretenſium; magnam enim

CHAP. IX. After *Antiochus* was *routed, fearing leſt he ſhould be given up, which without Doubt would have happened, if he had given* them *an Opportunity of* inapping *him, he came to* † *Crete to the Gortynians, that there he might conſider whither he ſhould betake himſelf. But this Man, the moſt cunning of all* Men, *ſaw that he ſhould be in great Danger,*



* There ſeems to be ſome Word wanting in the Text after *Naufragio*, ſuch as *periiſſe* or *interiiſſe*; for *Naufragio interfectus* is, I take it, juſt as good Latin, as *killed by a Shipwreck*, is good Engliſh.

† A famous Iſland in the South Parts of the Egean Sea.

enim secum pecuniam portabat, de quâ sciebat exîsse famam. Itaque capit tale consilium; amphoras complures complet plumbo, summas operit auro & argento: has Gortyniis præsentibus deponit in templo Dianæ, simulans se suas fortunas illorum fidei credere. His in errorem ductis, statuas æneas, quas secum portabat, omnes suâ pecuniâ complet, easque in propatulo domi abjicit. Gortynii templum magnâ curâ custodiunt, non tam à cæteris quàm ab Hannibale; ne quid ille inscientibus his tolleret, secumque asportaret.

*unless he took some Care, by Reason of the Covetousness of the Cretans; for he carried a great deal of Money with him, of which he knew a Rumour was got abroad. Wherefore he takes this Course; he fills several Pots with Lead, he covers the upper Parts with Gold and Silver: He deposits these,* whilst *the Gortynians* were *present, in the Temple of Diana, pretending he would entrust his Fortune to their Honesty. These being led into a Mistake, he fills* all *his brazen Statues, which he carried with him, with his Money, and throws them into an open Place at home. The Gortynians guard the Temple with great Care, not so much against others, as against Hannibal; lest he should take any Thing away without their Knowledge, and carry it off with him.*

CAP. X. Sic conservatis suis rebus, Pœnus, illusis Cretensibus omnibus, ad Prusiam in Pontum pervenit; apud quem eodem animo fuit erga Italiam; neque aliud quicquam egit, quàm regem armavit, & excitavit adversus Romanos; quem quum videret domesticis rebus minùs esse robustum, conciliabat cæteros reges, adjungebatque bellicosas nationes. Diffidebat ab eo Pergamenus rex Eumenes, Romanis amicissimus; bellumque

CHAP. X. *Thus the Carthaginian, having saved his Money,* and *fooled all the Cretans, came to Prusias into* * *Pontus; with whom he was of the same Disposition as to Italy: Nor did he do any Thing else but arm the King, and animate him against the Romans; whom when he saw* to be *not at all strong in his own Circumstances, he brought over other Princes, and joined warlike Nations to* him. *Eumenes, King of* † *Pergamus, was at Difference with him, a very great Friend to the Romans; and a War was carried*

* A Province of Asia Minor, lying upon the Euxine Sea.
† A City of Mysia Minor in Asia Minor.

lumque inter eos gerebatur & mari & terrâ, quò magìs cupiebat eum Hannibal opprimi; ſed utrobique Eumenes plùs valebat, propter Romanorum ſocietatem; quem ſi removiſſet, faciliora ſibi cætera fore arbitrabatur. Ad hunc interficiendum talem inîit rationem: claſſe paucis diebus erant decertaturi: ſuperabatur navium multitudine: dolo erat pugnandum, quum par non eſſet armis. Imperavit quàm plurimas venenatas ſerpentes vivas colligi, eaſque in vaſa fictilia conjici; harum quum confeciſſet magnam multitudinem, die ipſo quo facturus erat navale prælium, claſſiarios convocat, hiſque præcipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, à cæteris tantùm ſatìs habeant ſe defendere; id facilè illos ſerpentum multitudine conſecuturos; rex autem quà nave veheretur, ut ſcirent, ſe facturum: quem ſi aut cepiſſent, aut interfeciſſent, magno his pollicetur id præmio fore.

*ried on betwixt them both by Sea and Land; for which Reaſon Hannibal was the more deſirous to have him taken off; but Eumenes prevailed every where by Virtue of the Alliance with the Romans; whom if he could but remove, he thought other Things would be more eaſy. He took this Method to kill him: They were to engage with their Fleet in a few Days; he was quite outdone in Number of Ships: He was* therefore *to fight with Subtlety, ſince he was not a Match* for him *in Arms. He ordered as many poiſonous Serpents as poſſible to be got together alive, and to be put in earthen Pots; after he had made up a good Number of them, upon the Day whereon he was to fight* this *Battle by Sea, he calls his Fleet together, and orders them all to gather about the Ship of King Eumenes alone, to be content to defend themſelves only againſt the reſt; that they might eaſily do, by the great Number of Serpents; he would take Care they ſhould know in what Ship the King ſailed; whom if they either took or killed, he promiſes they ſhould have a good Reward for it.*

Cap. XI. Tali cohortatione militum factâ, claſſis ab utriſque in prælium deducitur; quarum acie conſtitutâ, priuſquam ſignum pugnæ daretur, Hannibal, ut palam faceret ſuis, quo loco Eumenes eſſet, tabellarium in ſcaphâ cum caduceo mittit.

Chap. XI. *Having made this Exhortation to his Soldiers, the Fleet is drawn out to a Battle by both Sides: The Line of Battle in each being formed, before the Signal of the Fight was given, Hannibal, that he might make known to his Men in what Place Eumenes was, ſends a Letter-*

tit. Qui, ubi ad naves adversariorum pervenit, epistolam ostendens, se regem professus est quærere; statim ad Eumenem deductus est, quòd nemo dubitabat aliquid de pace esse scriptum. Tabellarius, ducis nave declaratâ suis, eòdem unde iêrat se recepit. At Eumenes, solutâ epistolâ, nihil in eâ reperit, nisi quod ad irridendum eum pertineret: cujus etsi causam mirabatur, neque reperiebatur, tamen prælium statim committere non dubitavit. Horum in concursu, Bithyni, Hannibalis præcepto, universi navem Eumenis adoriuntur; quorum vim quum rex sustinere non posset, fugâ salutem petiit; quam consecutus non esset, nisi intra sua præsidia se recepisset, quæ in proximo littore erant collocata. Reliquæ Pergamenæ naves quum adversarios premerent acrius, repente in eas vasa fictilia, de quibus suprà mentionem fecimus, conjici cœpta sunt; quæ jacta, initio risum pugnantibus excitârunt, neque, quare id fieret, poterat intelligi. Postquam naves completas conspexerunt serpentibus, nova re perterriti, quum quid potissimum vitarent non viderent, puppes averterunt, seque ad sua castra nautica retulerunt. Sic Hannibal

*carrier in a Boat, with a* * *Staff of Peace; who, after he came to the Enemies Ships, shewing the Letter, told them he wanted the King; immediately he was brought to Eumenes, because nobody doubted there was something written* in it *about Peace. The Letter-carrier, having* thus *discovered the King's Ship to his own* Side, *withdrew himself to the same Place from whence he had come. But Eumenes, having opened the Letter, found nothing in it but what tended to banter him: The Reason of which altho' he wondered at, nor was it discovered, yet he scrupled not immediately to join Battle. In their Fight, the Bithynians, by Order of Hannibal, all of them attacked the Ship of Eumenes; the Fury of whom when the King was not able to withstand, he sought his Security by Flight; which he would not have obtained, unless he had betaken himself within his Guards, which he had posted upon the neighbouring Shore. When the rest of the Pergamene Ships bore hard upon the Enemy, on a sudden the earthen Pots, of which we made mention above, began to be thrown amongst them; which,* when *cast* at them, *at first raised a Laugh amongst the Soldiers, nor could it be comprehended for what Reason it was done. After they saw the Ships filled with Serpents, being*

* The Caduceus was a Staff with the Figure of two Serpents twisted about it, borne by Heralds and other Messengers sent to an Enemy to signify their coming in a peaceable Manner.

nibal consilio arma Pergamenorum superavit: neque tum solùm, sed sæpe aliàs, pedestribus copiis pari prudentiâ pepulit adversarios.

*ing affrighted at this new Thing, as they knew not what chiefly they should avoid, they turned their Ships, and betook themselves to their Sea Camp. Thus Hannibal, by this Contrivance, prevailed against the Arms of the Pergamenians: Nor* did he do *that then only, but often at other Times, he defeated the Enemy with his Land Forces with the like Conduct.*

Cap. XII. Quæ dum in Asiâ geruntur, accidit casu, ut legati Prusiæ Romæ apud L. Quintium Flaminium consulem cœnarent: atque ibi, de Hannibale mentione factâ, ex his unus diceret eum in Prusiæ regno esse. Id postero die Flaminius senatui detulit. Patres conscripti, qui, Hannibale vivo, nunquam se sine insidiis futuros existimabant, legatos in Bithyniam miserunt, in his Flaminium, qui à rege peterent, ne inimicissimum suum secum haberet, sibique ut dederet. His Prusias negare ausus non est; illud recusavit, id ne à se fieri postularent, quod adversus jus hospitii esset; ipsi, si possent, comprehenderent, locum ubi esset facile inventuros. Hannibal enim uno loco se tenebat, in castello, quod ei ab rege datum erat muneri; idque sic ædificâret, ut in omnibus partibus ædificii exitus haberet, semper verens ne usu veniret, quod accidit. Huc quum legati Romanorum venissent,

Chap. XII. *Which Things whilst they are doing in Asia, it happened by Chance, that the Ambassadors of Prusias at Rome supped with L. Q. Flaminius, the Consul: And there Mention being made of Hannibal, one of them said, That he was in the Kingdom of Prusias. Flaminius, the Day after, carried that to the Senate. The Fathers of the Senate, who thought they should never be without Contrivances against them,* so long as *Hannibal was alive, sent Ambassadors into Bithynia, amongst these Flaminius, to desire of the King, that he would not keep their bitterest Enemy with him, and that he would surrender him up to them. Prusias durst not deny them; but he refused one Thing,* and desired *they would not expect that to be done by him, which was contrary to the Right of Hospitality; they might catch him, if they could, they would easily find the Place where he was. For Hannibal kept himself in one Place, in a Castle, which had been given him as a Present by the King;*

*and*

nissent, ac multitudine domum ejus circumdedissent; puer ab januâ prospiciens, Hannibali dixit plures præter consuetudinem armatos apparere; qui imperavit ei, ut omnes fores ædificii circumiret, ac propere sibi renunciaret, num eodem modo undique obsideretur: Puer quum celeriter quid esset renunciâsset, omnesque exitus occupatos ostendisset; sensit id non fortuitò factum, sed se peti, neque sibi diutiùs vitam esse retinendam; quam ne alieno arbitrio demitteret, memor pristinarum virtutum, venenum quod semper secum habere consueverat, sumsit.

*and he had so built it, that it had Ways out on all Sides of the Building, fearing always lest that should come to pass, which fell out. When the Ambassadors of the Romans were come thither, and had beset the House with a good Number* of Men, *a Boy, looking out at a Gate, told Hannibal, that several armed Men appeared contrary to Custom; who ordered him to go round to all the Doors of the Castle, and bring him Word quickly, whether he was blocked up on all Sides in the same Manner: When the Boy quickly brought Word again how it was, and informed him, that all the Ways out were secured; he was sensible that was not accidentally done, but that he was aimed at, and that he ought to keep his Life no longer; which that he might not part with at another's Pleasure, mindful of his former noble Qualities, he took Poison, which he had been accustomed to carry always about him.*

CAP. XII. Sic vir fortissimus, multis variisque perfunctus laboribus, anno acquievit septuagesimo. Quibus consulibus interierit, non convenit. Nam Atticus, M. Claudio Marcello, & Q. Labio Labeone Coss. mortuum, in Annali suo scriptum reliquit: Polybius, Æmilio Paulo, & Cn. Bæbio Tamphilo: Sulpitius autem, P. Cornelio Cethego, & M. Bæbio Tamphilo. Atque hic tantus vir,

CHAP. XIII. *Thus this most gallant Man, after he had run through many and various Toils, rested in his seventieth Year. Under what Consuls he died, is not agreed; for Atticus has left it written in his Annal, that he died* when *M. Claudius Marcellus and Q. Labius Labeo* were *Consuls.* But *Polybius* says *under L. Emilius Paulus, and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. But Sulpitius* says he died in the Time of *P. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Bæbius*

vir, tantiſque bellis diſtrictus, nonnihil temporis tribuit literis; namque aliquot ejus libri ſunt Græco ſermone confecti: in his ad Rhodios de Cn. Manlii Volſonis in Aſiâ rebus geſtis. Hujus bella geſta multi memoriæ prodiderunt: ſed ex his duo, qui cum eo in caſtris fuerunt, ſimulque vixerunt, quamdiu fortuna paſſa eſt, Philænius & Soſilus Lacedæmonius. Atque hoc Soſilo Hannibal literarum Græcarum uſus eſt doctore. Sed nunc tempus eſt hujus libri facere finem, & Romanorum explicare imperatores; quò facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri præferendi ſint, poſſit judicari.

*Bæbius Tamphilus. And this great Man, and ſo prodigiouſly taken up with* the Proſecution of *ſuch great Wars, employed ſome Part of his Time in Letters; for there are ſome Books of his written in the Greek Tongue: Amongſt theſe* one *to the Rhodians concerning the Actions of Cn. Manlius Volſo in Aſia. Many have tranſmitted to Memory his Wars* which were *carried on* by him. *But two of them* were ſuch, *who were with him in the Camp, and lived with him as long as his Circumſtances allowed it, Philænius and Soſilus the Lacedemonian. And Hannibal made uſe of this Soſilus, as his Inſtructor in the Greek Tongue. But now it is Time to make an End of this Book, and to relate* the Lives of *the Roman Commanders, that by comparing the Actions of both, it may be the more eaſily diſcerned which Men are to have the Preference.*

XXIV. *M. PORCIUS*

## XXIV.

## *M. PORCIUS CATO.*

### EX LIBRO SECUNDO *CORNELII NEPOTIS.*

### CAP. I.

CATO ortus municipio Tusculo, adolescentulus, priusquam honoribus operam daret, versatus est in Sabinis, quòd ibi hæredium à patre relictum habebat. Hortatu L. Valerii Flacci, quem in consulatu censurâque habuit collegam, ut M. Perpenna Censorinus narrare solitus est, Romam demigravit, in foro esse cœpit. Primum stipendium meruit annorum decem septemque, Q. Fabio

## XXIV.

## *M. PORCIUS CATO.*

### Out of the SECOND BOOK of *CORNELIUS NEPOS.*

### CHAP. I.

*CATO* was *born in the Borough Town of* * *Tusculum*, and when *a very young Man, before he made Suit for any publick Posts in the Government, lived in the* Country of the *Sabines, because he had an Estate there, left him by his Father. By the Advice of L. Valerius Flaccus, whom he had for his Colleague in the Consulship and Censorship, as M. Perpenna Censorinus used to say, he removed to Rome*, and *began to appear in the* † *Forum. He first*

* A Town of Latium in Italy, nearly twenty Miles East from Rome.

† The Forum was a large Square in the Middle of the Cities of Italy and Greece, where the Courts and Markets were kept, and where the People usually met, for the Choice of Magistrates, and the enacting of Laws.

Fabio Maximo, M. Claudio Marcello Coſſ. Tribunus militum in Siciliâ fuit. Inde ut rediit, caſtra ſecutus eſt C. Claudii Neronis, magnique opera ejus æſtimata eſt in prælio apud Senam, quo cecidit Haſdrubal frater Hannibalis. Quæſtor obtigit P. Cornelio Africano conſuli, cum quo non pro ſortis neceſſitudine vixit; namque ab eo perpetua diſſenſit vita. Ædilis plebis factus eſt cum C. Helvio. Prætor, provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex quâ Quæſtor ſuperiore tempore ex Africâ decedens, Q. Ennium poëtam deduxerat; quod non minoris æſtimamus, quàm quemlibet ampliſſimum Sardinienſem triumphum.

*firſt entered the Service of his Country in the Wars*, when he was *Seventeen Years* of Age, *under the Conſuls Q. Fabius Maximus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus. He was a* * *Tribune of Soldiers in Sicily. As ſoon as he came from thence, he followed the Camp of C. Claudius Nero, and his Service was highly valued in the Battle* † *at Sena, in which Haſdrubal, the Brother of Hannibal, fell. He happened to be* § *Queſtor to P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* when *Conſul, with whom he lived not according to the* ‡ *Obligation his Chance* had brought him under; *for he differed with him all his Life long. He was made* ** *Edile of the Commons with C. Helvius.* When †† *Pretor, he got the Province of Sardinia; out of which, when coming Queſtor ſome Time before out of Africa, he had brought away Q. Ennius the Poet;*

CAP.

* A Tribune was a military Officer, pretty much like our Colonels. There were at firſt ſix in a Legion, which had the Command of it in their Turns; but afterwards they were reduced to the Command of one ſingle Cohort or Regiment, of which there were ten in a Legion; and therefore it is ſuppoſed there were the like Number of Tribunes.

† A City of Italy, in that Part of it formerly called Umbria, nigh the Adriatick Sea.

§ The Queſtor in Rome was a Sort of a Lord Treaſurer. The Proconſuls and Propretors too, that were ſent Governors into the Provinces of the Roman Empire, had their Queſtors, who had the Charge of the Public Money, the Plunder that was not given to the Soldiers, &c.

‡ The Queſtors, as well as Proconſuls and Propretors, had their Provinces aſſigned them by Lot, and uſually lived in a ſtrict Friendſhip with thoſe under whom their Lot fell.

** An Officer whoſe Buſineſs it was to take Care of the Markets and publick Buildings.

†† The Pretor at Rome was Superintendant, or Director, of their Courts of Juſtice.

*Poet; which we value no leſs, than any the nobleſt Triumph over Sardinia.*

CAP. II. Conſulatum geſſit cum L. Valerio Flacco; ſorte provinciam nactus Hiſpaniam citeriorem, exque eâ triumphum deportavit. Ibi quum diutiùs moraretur, P. Scipio Africanus, conſul iterum, cujus in priori conſulatu Quæſtor fuerat, voluit eum de Provinciâ depellere, & ipſe ei ſuccedere: neque hoc per ſenatum efficere potuit, quum quidem Scipio in civitate principatum obtineret: quòd tum non potentiâ, ſed jure, reſpublica adminiſtrabatur: quâ ex re iratus, ſenatu peracto, privatus in urbe manſit. At Cato, Cenſor cum eodem Flacco factus, ſeverè præfuit ei poteſtati; nam & in complures nobiles animadvertit, & multas res novas in edictum addidit, quâ re luxuria reprimeretur, quæ jam tum incipiebat pullulare. Circiter annos octoginta, uſque ad extremam ætatem, ab adoleſcentiâ, reipublicæ cauſâ ſuſcipere inimicitias non deſtitit. A multis tentatus, non modò nullum detrimentum exiſtimationis fecit, ſed quoad vixit, virtutum laude crevit. In omnibus rebus ſingulari fuit prudentiâ & induſtriâ; nam & agricola ſolers, & reipublicæ peritus, & juris con-

CHAP. II. *He bore the Office of Conſul with L. Valerius Flaccus; he got by Lot Hither-Spain for his Province, and brought home from thence a Triumph. As he ſtaid there long, P. Scipio Africanus, a ſecond Time Conſul, whoſe Queſtor he had been in the former Conſulate, deſigned to out him of his Province, and to ſucceed him himſelf; but could not effect it by the Senate, though Scipio had the greateſt Sway in the City; becauſe the Government was then managed not by Intereſt, but Juſtice: For which Reaſon being angry, when his Conſulſhip was expired, he continued a private Perſon in the City. But Cato, being made Cenſor with the ſame Flaccus, behaved very ſtrictly in that Poſt; for he puniſhed ſeveral Noblemen, and put a great many new Things into the Edict, whereby Luxury might be reſtrained, which even then began to bud. He never ceaſed for about fourſcore Years, from his Youth to the End of his Life, to engage in Quarrels upon the Commonwealth's Account. Though he was attacked by many, he not only ſuffered no Loſs of Reputation, but grew in Fame for his excellent Qualities, as long as he lived. In all Things he was a Man of excellent Prudence and Induſtry; for he was both a dextrous Huſbandman, well ſkilled in the Buſineſs of Government, and a Lawyer, and a great*

consultus, & magnus imperator & probabilis orator, & cupidissimus literarum fuit; quarum studium etsi senior arripuerat, tamen tantum progressum fecit, ut non facilè reperire possis, neque de Græcis neque de Italicis rebus, quod ei fuerit incognitum. Ab adolescentiâ confecit orationes; senex historias scribere instituit, quarum sunt libri septem: Primus continet res gestas regum populi Romani: Secundus & tertius, unde quæque civitas orta sit Italica, ob quam rem omnes *Origines* videtur appellâsse: In quarto autem, bellum Punicum primum: in quinto, secundum: atque hæc omnia capitulatim sunt dicta. Reliquaque bella pari modo persecutus est usque ad Præturam Ser. Galbæ, qui diripuit Lusitanos. Atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, sed sine nominibus res notavit. In iisdem exposuit quæ in Italiâ Hispaniisque viderentur admiranda; in quibus multa industria & diligentia comparet, multa doctrina. Cujus de vitâ & moribus plura in eo libro persecuti sumus, quem separatim de eo fecimus, rogatu Titi Pomponii Attici: quare studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen relegamus.

*great Commander, and a plausible Orator, and very fond of Learning; the Study of which though he took up* when *old, yet he made so great a Progress in it, that you cannot easily find* any Thing, *either of the Grecian or the Italian Affairs, which was unknown to him. He made Speeches from his Youth:* When *old, he began to write History, of which there are seven Books: The first contains The Actions of the Kings of the Roman People: The second and third* contain an Account, *from whom every City of Italy had its Rise, for which Reason he seems to have called them all* Origines: *In the fourth* is *the first Carthaginian War: In the fifth, the second: And all these Things are summarily related. And he has gone through the other Wars, in the like Manner, unto the Prætorship of Ser. Galba, who rifled the Lusitanians. And he has not named the Generals in these Wars, but has set down the Actions without Names. In the same* Books *he has given an Account of what seemed remarkable in Italy and Spain; in which there appears much Industry and Diligence,* and *much Learning. We have said more concerning his Life and Manners, in that Book which we made separately about him, at the Request of T. Pomponius Atticus; wherefore we send those that are desirous of knowing Cato to that Volume.*

## XXV.

### T. POMPONII ATTICI *Vita, ex* Cornelio Nepote.

### CAP. I.

POMPONIUS Atticus, ab origine ultimâ ſtirpis Romanæ generatus, perpetuo à majoribus acceptam equeſtrem obtinuit dignitatem. Patre uſus eſt diligente, indulgente, & ut tum erant tempora, diti, imprimiſque ſtudioſo literarum: Hic, quòd ipſe amabat literas, omnibus doctrinis, quibus pueriles ætas imbui debet, filium erudivit. Erat autem in puero præter docilitatem ingenii, ſumma ſuavitas oris ac vocis, ut non ſolùm celeriter arriperet quæ tradebantur, ſed etiam excellenter pronunciaret; quâ ex re in pueritiâ nobilis inter æquales ferebatur, clariùſque exiplendeſcebat, quàm generoſi condiſcipuli animo æquo ferre poſſent; itaque incitabat omnes ſuo ſtudio, quo in numero fuerunt

## XXV.

### *The Life of* T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS, *out of* Cornelius Nepos.

### CHAP. I.

*POMPONIUS Atticus, deſcended of an ancient Roman Family, kept the* * *Equeſtrian Dignity, received by uninterrupted Succeſſion from his Anceſtors. He had a diligent* and *indulgent Father, and, as the Times were then, rich, and, above all Things, a Lover of Learning: As he loved Learning* himſelf, *he inſtructed his Son in all that Sort of Literature that Youth ought to be acquainted with. There was in* him when *a Boy, beſides a Docility of Wit, a mighty Sweetneſs of Mouth and Voice, that he not only quickly took in what was taught him, but alſo pronounced excellently; upon which Account he was reckoned famous amongſt his Fellows in his Childhood, and ſhone out more brightly than his noble School-fellows were able to bear with a patient Mind; wherefore*

* The Roman People were divided into three Orders, the Plebeian, Equeſtrian, and Senatorian: Thoſe, whoſe Eſtates were 400,000 Seſterces (upwards of 300 Pounds) were reckoned of the Equeſtrian Order, till they were choſen into the Senate, and then they were of the Senatorian. Atticus's Anceſtors had never any of them been in the Senate, and he, treading in their Steps, declined all Preferment.

fuerunt L. Torquatus, C. Marius filius, M. Cicero, quos consuetudine suâ sic sibi devinxit, ut nemo iis perpetuò fuerit carior.

*wherefore he pushed them all forward by his great Application, in which Number was L. Torquatus, C. Marius the Son, M. Cicero, whom he so engaged to him by his Acquaintance with them, that nobody was all along more dear to them.*

Cap. II. Pater maturè decessit. Ipse adolescentulus propter affinitatem P. Sulpicii, qui Tribunus pl. interfectus est, non expers fuit illius periculi: namque Anicia, Pomponii consobrina, nupserat M. Servio fratri P. Sulpicii. Itaque interfecto Sulpitio, posteaquam vidit Cinnano tumultu civitatem esse perturbatam, neque sibi dari facultatem pro dignitate vivendi, quin alterutram partem offenderet, dissociatis animis civium; cùm alii Syllanis, alii Cinnanis faverent partibus, idoneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendi suis, Athenas se contulit: neque eo seciùs adolescentem Marium hostem judicatum, juvit opibus suis; cujus fugam pecuniâ sublevavit. Ac, ne illa peregrinatio detrimentum aliquod afferret rei familiaris, eodem magnam partem fortunarum trajecit suarum. Hìc ita vixit, ut universis Athenientibus meritò esset carissimus: Nam, præter gratiam, quæ jam adolescentulo magna erat, sæpe suis

Chap. II. *His Father died early. He being a very young Man, by Reason of his Affinity with P. Sulpicius, who was slain* when *Tribune of the Commons, was not clear of that Danger; for Anicia, the Cousin of Pomponius, had married M. Servius, the Brother of Sulpicius: Wherefore P. Sulpicius being slain, after he found the City mightily disturbed with the Bustle raised by Cinna, and that there was no Possibility for him to live suitably to his Dignity, but he must offend one Party or the other, the Minds of his Countrymen being divided; whilst some favoured Sylla's Party, and others Cinna's; thinking it a proper Time to follow his Studies, he withdrew himself to Athens; but nevertheless he assisted young Marius, declared an Enemy, with his Estate; and relieved* him in *his Banishment with Money. And, lest that his living Abroad should prove* a *Detriment to his Estate, he carried over to the same Place a great Part of his Substance. Here he lived so, that he was deservedly very dear to all the Athenians: For, besides his* * *Interest, which*

* By *Gratia* is here meant the Interest he had amongst several of the leading Men at Rome, by which he was in a Condition of serving the Athenians several Ways.

suis opibus inopiam eorum publicam levavit: Cum enim versuram facere publicè necesse esset, neque ejus conditionem æquam haberent, semper se interposuit, atque ita, ut neque usuram unquam ab iis acceperit, neque longius quàm dictum esset, eos debere passus sit; quod utrumque erat iis salutare: nam neque indulgendo inveterascere eorum æs alienum patiebatur, neque multiplicandis usuris crescere. Auxit hoc officium aliâ quoque liberalitate; nam universos frumento donavit, ita ut singulis VI. modii tritici darentur, qui modus mensuræ *Medimnus* Athenis appellatur.

*which was already considerable in him*, tho' *a very young Man, he often relieved their public Want out of his own Estate: For when the Government was obliged to* * *borrow Money to pay off a publick Debt, and could have no fair Offer for it, he always interposed, and so, that he neither ever received any Use of them, nor suffered them to owe him* the Money *longer then had been agreed; both which Things were very good for them: for he neither suffered their Debts to grow old* upon them, *by forbearing* them, *nor to encrease by the multiplying of Use. He added to this Kindness by another* Piece of *Generosity too; for he presented them* † *all with Corn, so that six* ‡ *Modii of Wheat were given to every Man, which Kind of Measure is called a Medimnus at Athens.*

CAP. III. Hic autem sic se gerebat, ut communis infimis, par principibus videretur; quo factum est, ut huic omnes honores, quos possent, publicè haberent, civemque facere studerent: quo beneficio ille uti noluit: quod nonnulli ita interpretantur, amitti civitatem Romanum aliâ adscita. Quamdiu affuit, ne

CHAP. III. *He likewise behaved so, that he seemed upon a Level with the Lowest*, and yet *equal to the Greatest; from whence it was, that they publickly conferred upon him all the Honours which they could, and endeavoured to make him a Freeman of their City; which Kindness he would not accept; because some construe* the Matter *so, that the Freedom of Rome*

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* *Versura* signifies borrowing of one to pay another; which has no Word to answer it in our Language.

† Our Author has here expressed himself very carelessly; to be sure, he did not present them all, *Universos*, but only the poorer Sort; it would have been so far from a Kindness, that it would have been a most stupid Affront, to have offered a Largess of a few Pecks of Corn to People of Quality, or any tolerable Fashion.

‡ A *Modius* is reckoned by some to be about two Pecks.

ne qua sibi statua poneretur, restitit; absens, prohibere non potuit: Itaque aliquot ipsi & Piliæ, locis sanctissimis posuerunt; hunc enim in omni procuratione Reip. actorem, auctoremque habebant. Igitur primum illud munus fortunæ, quod in eâ potissimum urbe natus est, in quâ domicilium orbis terrarum esset imperii, ut eandem & patriam haberet, & domum: Hoc specimen prudentiæ, quòd cùm in eam se civitatem contulisset, quæ antiquitate, humanitate, doctrinâ præstaret omnes, ei unus ante alios fuerit carissimus.

*Rome is lost by taking another. As long as he was there, he made* such *Opposition, that no Statue was erected for him*; when *absent, he could not hinder it: Wherefore they set up some both for him and Pilia, in the most sacred Places; for in the whole Management of their Government, they had him for their Adviser and Agent. Wherefore that was an especial Favour of Fortune, that he was born in that City, above others, in which was the Seat of the Empire of the World, that he had the same both for his Native Place, and his Home: This was a Specimen of his Prudence, that when he withdrew himself into that City, which excelled all others in Antiquity, Politeness, and Learning, he was singly very dear to it above all others.*

Cap. IV. Huc ex Asiâ Sylla decedens cùm venisset; quamdiu ibi fuit, secum habuit Pomponium, captus adolescentis & humanitate & doctrinâ; sic enim Græcè loquebatur, ut Athenis natus videretur: tanta autem erat suavitas sermonis Latini, ut appareret in eo nativum quendam leporem esse, non adscitum. Idem poëmata pronunciabat & Græcè & Latinè sic, ut supra nihil posset. Quibus rebus factum est, ut Sylla nunquam eum à se demitteret, cupieretque secum deducere; cui cùm persuadere tentaret, *Nil ego te* (inquit

Chap. IV. *When Sylla was come hither in his Departure from Asia, so long as he was there, he kept Pomponius with him, adorned with the Politeness and Learning of the Youth; for he spake Greek so, that he seemed to have been born at Athens: But such was the Sweetness of his Latin Dialect, that it appeared there was a certain natural Pleasantness in him, not acquired. The same Man pronounced Poems both in Greek and Latin so, that nothing could be beyond it. For which Things it was, that Sylla would never part with him from him, and was desirous to take him along with him to Rome; whom when he endeavoured to persuade to that,*

Do

quit Pomponius) *adversum eos me velle ducere, cum quibus ne contra te arma ferrem, Italiam reliqui.* At Sylla adolescentis officio collaudato, omnia munera ei, quæ Athenis acceperat, proficiscens jussit deferri. Hîc complures annos moratus, cùm & rei familiari tantum operæ daret, quantùm non indiligens deberet paterfamilias, & omnia reliqua tempora aut literis, aut Athenienſium Reip. tribuerit; nihilominus amicis urbana officio præſtitit: nam & ad comitia eorum ventitavit, & ſi qua res major acta eſt, non defuit; ſicut Ciceroni in omnibus ejus periculis ſingularem fidem præbuit: cui ex patriâ fugienti LLS. CC. & quinquaginta millia donavit. Tranquillatis autem rebus

Donot, I beſeech you, *(ſays Pomponius)* deſire to lead me againſt thoſe, with whom that I might not bear Arms againſt you, I left Italy. *But Sylla commending the Behaviour of the young Man, upon his Departure, ordered all the Preſents, which he had received at Athens, to be carried to him. Having ſtaid here ſeveral Years, whilſt he employed as much Care upon his Eſtate as a diligent Maſter of a Family ought* to do, *and beſtowed all the reſt of his Time either upon Books, or the Government of the Athenians;* * *notwithſtanding he performed* allmanner of *good Offices in the City of Rome to his Friends: for he both came frequently to their Elections, and, if any important Matter* of theirs *was tranſacted, was not wanting; as he ſhewed a ſingular Faithfulneſs to Cicero in all his Dangers; to whom* when

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* I am ſomewhat ſurpriſed to find this Paſſage thus tranſlated by Major Pack, "He found many Opportunities to perform very im-" portant Services to his Friends on the ſuffering Side; he frequent-" ly aſſiſted at their private Rendezvous." Our Author is not here talking of his Friends on the ſuffering Side, *i. e.* on the Side of Marius; but of his Friends in general, or rather thoſe on the conquering Side; for ſuch alone, during the Tyranny of Sylla, were permitted to ſue for the great Offices of the Government, and ſuch he here means, as is plain from what follows, *Ad comitia eorum ventitavit*; which is not to be rendered. "Aſſiſted at their private Ren-" dezvous," Words hardly intelligible; but in the ſame Manner, or to the ſame Purpoſe, as I have done; *comitia* never ſignifying any Thing elſe than Meetings of the People for their Choice of Magiſtrates, enacting Laws, or Public Trials. The Relative Pronoun, *eorum* ſeems to reſtrain it to the firſt Kind, Meetings of the People for the Choice of Magiſtrates or Elections. The Major has miſtaken too the Senſe of *Urbana Officia*, which ſignifies here ſuch Services or good Offices, as were confined to the City of Rome, and could

rebus Romanis, remigravit Romam, ut opinor, L. Cottâ, & L. Torquato COSS. quem diem ſic univerſa civitas Athenienſium proſecuta eſt, ut lacrymis deſiderii futuri dolorem indicaret.

when * *baniſhed his Country, he preſented two hundred and fifty thouſand* † *Seſterces. But* after *the Roman Affairs* were pretty well *ſettled, he returned to Rome, as I think, when L. Cotta and L. Torquatus* were *Conſuls*; *which Day the whole City of the Athenians did ſo obſerve, that they diſcovered by their Tears their Sorrow for their future Loſs.*

Cap. V. Habebat avunculum, Q. Cæcilium, equitem Romanum, familiarem L. Luculli, divitem, difficillimâ naturâ; cujus ſic aſperitatem veritus eſt, ut quem nemo ferre poſſet, hujus ſine offenſione ad ſummam ſenectutem retinuerit benevolentiam; quo facto tulit pietatis

Chap. V. *He had an Uncle, Q. Cecilius, a Roman Knight, a Friend of L. Lucullus, rich,* but *of a very rugged Temper; whoſe Peeviſhneſs he bore ſo meekly, that he kept* in *his Favour, without any Offence* given, *to an extreme Age, whom nobody elſe was able to bear with; for which he reaped the Fruit of his* † *dutiful Behaviour* towards

could not elſewhere be performed at all, or ſo effectually, ſuch as waiting upon the Candidates to the Forum, or in their Rounds about the Town, making of Intereſt among the Citizens for them: Theſe, and the like are the *Urbana Officia* here ſpoken of. I make not this Remark to depreciate Mr. Pack's Performance, which is as good, at leaſt, if not better than any Thing of the Kind I ever read; but to do Juſtice to Cornelius Nepos, and myſelf too, who might otherwiſe be condemned, upon the Authority of Mr. Pack, as having here groſsly miſtaken the Senſe of my Author.

* I choſe to render *fugienti ex patriâ*, being baniſhed out of his Country: Major Pack's Tranſlation, *being obliged to fly his Country*, is, to my Thinking, too general to convey the Author's Meaning to ſuch as are unacquainted with Cicero's Story; he uſes the Word *fugio* here, as the Greeks do their Verb φεύγω, which is commonly put for being baniſhed, ſometimes with the Accuſative πατρίδα, but oftener, I think, without.

‡ A Seſterce was the fourth Part of a Denarius, which was about 8 *d.* of our Money; the whole Sum therefore here mentioned is near upon 2000 Pounds.

† *Pietas*, I render, dutiful Behaviour. Piety, which is Major Pack's Tranſlation of the Word, has nothing at all to do here. See Note the firſt, on the firſt Chapter of Dion's Life.

pietatis fructum. Cæcilius enim moriens testamento adoptavit eum, hæredemque fecit ex dodrante; ex quâ hæreditate accepit circiter centies LSS. Erat nupta soror Attici Q. Tullio Ciceroni, easque nuptias M. Cicero conciliârat; cum quo à condiscipulatu vivebat conjunctissimè, multò etiam familiariùs quàm cum Quinto: ut judicari possit, plùs in amicitiâ valere similitudinem morum, quàm affinitatem. Utebatur autem intimè Q. Hortensio, qui iis temporibus principatum eloquentiæ tenebat, ut intelligi non posset, uter eum plùs diligeret, Cicero an Hortensius; & id, quod erat difficillimum, efficiebat, ut inter quos tantæ laudis esset æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtrectatio; essetque talium virorum copula.

towards *him. For Cecilius*, when *dying, adopted him by his Will, and made him Heir to* * *Three-Fourths of his Estate*; *by which Inheritance he got about a hundred Times a hundred thousand* † *Sesterces. The Sister of Atticus was married to Q. Tullius Cicero, and M. Cicero had made up the Match*; *with whom he lived in a very close Friendship from* the Time of *their being School-fellows, and much more familiarly than with Quintus*; *that it may be* thereby *judged, that a Similitude of Manners does more in Friendship than Affinity. He was likewise intimate with Q. Hortensius, who in those Times had the highest Reputation for Eloquence, that it could not be understood whether* of them *loved him more, Cicero or Hortensius*; *and he effected that which was very difficult, that there was no Endeavour to lessen one another passed* betwixt those, *betwixt whom there was a Rivalry for so considerable* a Prize of *Fame*; *and he was the Instrument of Union betwixt those great Men.*

CAP. CHAP.

* *Dodrans* is nine *unciæ* or Twelfths of the Roman *As*, which was originally a large Brass Coin, almost an English Pound; but by several Reductions brought at last to one four and twentieth Part of that Weight. An Estate was likewise termed *As*, and divided into twelve Parts, called *unciæ*, and accordingly *hæres ex asse*, was Heir to the whole Estate, *hæres ex dodrante* was Heir to nine *unciæ* or Twelfth's, *i. e.* Three Fourths of the Estate.

† *Sestertius*, as I have already remarked, is near upon two Pence of our Money; *Sestertium* signifies a thousand *Sestertii*: According to the Roman Way of Reckoning, after a numeral Adverb is always to be understood a hundred Thousand; so that *centies LSS.* is a hundred times a hundred Thousand Sesterces, or ten Millions, *i. e.* 70,000 Pounds of our Money nearly. It seems strange the Romans should use no higher a Denomination, than that of a twopenny Piece, in their Reckoning of Money; it must have rendered Accounts high, and troublesome enough.

CAP. VI. In Repub. ita eſt verſatus, ut ſemper optimarum partium & eſſet, & exiſtimaretur; neque tamen ſe civilibus fluctibus committeret, quòd non magìs eos in ſuâ poteſtate exiſtimabat eſſe, qui ſe iis dedidiſſent, quàm qui maritimis jactarentur. Honores non petiît, cùm ei paterent propter vel gratiam, vel dignitatem; quòd neque peti more majorum, neque capi poſſent, conſervatis legibus, in tam effuſis ambitûs largitionibus; neque geri è republicâ ſine periculo, corruptis civitatis moribus. Ad haſtam publicam nunquam acceſſit. Nullius rei neque præs, neque manceps factus eſt. Neminem neque ſuo nomine, neque ſubſcribens accuſavit. In jus de ſuâ re nunquam iît; judicium

CHAP. VI. *He behaved himſelf ſo in the Commonwealth, that he both always was and was reckoned of the * Party of the Quality; and yet he would not engage himſelf in civil Broils, becauſe he did not think them to be more in their own Power, who truſted themſelves upon thoſe* Waves, *than they who were toſſed about by the* Waves *of the Sea. He did not ſue for any Preferment in the State, though it lay ready for him, by reaſon either of his Intereſt or Quality; becauſe it could neither be ſued for after the Manner of our Anceſtors, nor be attained,* if *the Laws* were *obſerved, in ſo prodigious an Extravagance of Corruption; nor be managed to the Service of the Commonwealth without Danger, the Morals of the City being* ſo much *depraved. He never came to a public † Sale. He never became § Surety for, nor a Farmer of, any Part of the public Revenue.*



* Major Pack renders *Optimarum partium*, by right Side; but in my Opinion, thoſe Words can ſignify nothing but the beſt or a very good Side or Party; which would imply, that there were more Parties than two in Rome, which is falſe. *Optimarum* is undoubtedly a wrong Reading for *Optimatum*. See Note the firſt, on the ſixth Chapter of Dion's Life.

† He means chiefly the Sale of the Eſtates of ſuch as were taken off in the Proſcription of that barbarous Butcher Sylla. Atticus in that acted the Part of a generous Man, and a Lover of his Country, that ſcorned to encreaſe his Eſtate out of the Spoils taken from his innocent Fellow-Citizens. In thoſe Sales it was uſual for the Præco, or the Perſon that ſuperintended and managed the Sale, to fix down a Spear by him, which is the Reaſon of our Author's wording himſelf as he does.

§ *Manceps* properly ſignifies a Farmer of the Public Revenue, as the Cuſtoms, Taxes, &c. and *Præs* a Perſon bound to the Government for the Farmer's due Performance of his Bargain.

cium nullum habuit. Multorum Consulum Prætorumque præfecturas delatas sic accepit, ut neminem in provinciam sic secutus; honore fuerit contentus, rei familiaris despexerit fructum; qui ne cum Q. quidem Cicerone valuerit ire in Asiam, cùm apud eum legati locum obtinere posset; non enim decere se arbitrabatur, cùm Præturam gerere noluisset, assectam esse Prætoris: quâ in re non solum dignitati serviebat, sed etiam tranquillitati, cùm suspiciones quoque vitaret criminum: quo fiebat, ut ejus observantia omnibus esset carior, cùm

*Revenue. He never* * *accused any one in his own Name, nor* in the Quality of *a Subscriber* or Assistant. *He never went to Law about any Thing of his own; had no Trial. He so accepted of the Commissions of several Consuls and Pretors, when offered him, that he followed none of them into his Province; was content with the Honour, he despised the Improvement of his Estate; who would not indeed go along with Q. Cicero into Asia, though he might have had the Post of* † *Lieutenant-General under him; for he did not think it became him, since he would not bear the Office of Pretor, to be an Attendant upon a Pretor: In which Thing he not only consulted his*

* When any Person of Figure was impeached of any Crime, there were usually several Managers of the Trial against him; but yet the Burden lay chiefly upon one Person, who preferred the Bill of Indictment, or Impeachment, to the Pretor or Lord Chief Justice, with his Name to it, and was called *Accusator*. Others, that had a Mind to countenance the Matter, and give their Assistance for the Management of the Cause, subscribed their Name, but either spoke but very little, or not at all in the Court; the Business of speaking there belonged chiefly, if not solely, to the *Accusator*. What Major Pack means by translating this Passage, "He never openly or privately accused any Man," I cannot tell. Was I as much at Liberty in my Translation as the Major was, I should have turned it thus; "He never was concerned in the Prosecution of an Indictment against any Person, either as principal Manager of the Trial, or Assistant."

† Mr. Pack translates *Legatus* by Legate or General Officer, as if those were Words of the same Import in our Language. How far the Title of General Officer may extend, the Major knows much better than I; and because I am somewhat uncertain about it, I choose to make use of the Word Lieutenant-General; because that, I take it, the Word *Legatus* signifies here, and that only; a *Legatus* in the Roman Armies was next to the General in Power, and used to command, by the General's Appointment, some Part of the Army in the Day of Battle, and likewise the Whole in the General's Absence. There were several of them in an Army.

cùm eam officio, non timori, neque ſpei tribui viderent.

*his Dignity, but likewiſe his Quiet, ſince he avoided even the Suſpicions of Crimes: From whence it was, that his Reſpect was the more dear to all People, when they ſaw that it proceeded from Kindneſs, not Fear or Hope.*

Cap. VII. Incidit Cæſarianum civile bellum, cùm haberet annos circiter ſexaginta. Uſus eſt ætatis vacatione, neque ſe quòquam movit ex urbe. Quæ amicis ſuis opus fuerant ad Pompeium proficiſcentibus, omnia ex ſuâ re familiari dedit. Ipſum Pompeium conjunctum non offendit, nullum enim ab eo habebat ornamentum, ut cæteri, qui per eum aut honores, aut divitias ceperant; quorum partim invitiſſimi caſtra ſunt ſecuti, partim ſummâ cum ejus offenſione domi remanſerunt: Attici autem quies tantopere Cæſari fuit grata, ut victor, cùm privatis pecunias per epiſtolas imperaret, huic non ſolùm moleſtus non fuerit, ſed etiam ſororis & Q. Ciceronis filium ex Pompeii caſtris conceſſerit. Sic vetere inſtituto vitæ, effugit nova pericula.

Chap. VII. *Ceſar's Civil War fell out, when he was about ſixty Years old. He made uſe of the Privilege of his Age, nor did he ſtir any whither out of the Town. He gave all Things that were neceſſary for his Friends,* upon their *going to Pompey, out of his own Eſtate. He did not offend Pompey,* tho' *a Friend; for he had no Obligation from him, as others, who by him had got either great Poſts or Riches; Part of which followed his Camp very unwillingly, Part ſtaid at Home, to the great Offence of him: But Atticus's keeping quiet was ſo agreeable to Ceſar, that* after he was *Conqueror, when he commanded* ſeveral *private Gentlemen by Letters* to furniſh him with *Money, he was not only not troubleſome to him, but likewiſe gave him out of Pompey's Camp the Son of his Siſter and Quintus Cicero. Thus by his old Way of Life, he avoided new Dangers.*

Cap. VIII. Secutum eſt illud. Occiſo Cæſare, cùm Reſpub. penes Brutos videretur eſſe & Caſſium, ac tota civitas ſe ad eum convertiſſe videretur; ſic M. Bruto

Chap. VIII. Then *followed this.* After *Ceſar* was *ſlain, when the Government ſeemed to be in the Hands of the Brutus's and Caſſius, and the whole City was ſeen to turn themſelves toward them;*

Bruto usus est, ut nullo ille adolescens æquali familiarius, quàm hoc sene; neque solùm eum principem consilii haberet, sed etiam in convictu. Excogitatum est à quibusdam, ut privatum ærarium Cæsaris interfectoribus ab equitibus Romanis constitueretur: id facilè effici posse arbitrati sunt, si & principes illius ordinis pecunias contulissent. Itaque appellatus est à C. Flavio, Bruti familiari, Atticus, ut ejus rei princeps esse vellet: at ille, qui officia amicis præstanda sine factione existimaret, semperque à talibus se consiliis removisset, respondit, Si quid Brutus de suis facultatibus uti voluisset, usurum, quantum ea paterentur: sed neque eum quoquam de eâ re collocuturum, neque coïturum. Sic ille conscensionis globus hujus unius dissensione disjectus est. Neque multò post superior esse cœpit Antonius; ita ut Brutus & Cassius, provinciarum, quæ dicis iis causâ datæ erant à con-

* *them*; *he was so kind with M. Brutus, that that young Gentleman had more Intimacy with none of his own Age than with that old Gentleman*; *and not only used him as his principal Counsellor, but* had *him* pretty constantly *at his Table. It was projected by some, that* a Sort of *private Fund should be settled by the Roman Knights for the Assassinators of Cesar: They thought that might easily be effected, if the leading Persons of that Order would contribute Money* towards it. *Wherefore Atticus was spoke to by C. Flavius, Brutus's Friend, that he would be the Beginner of that Matter*; *but he, who thought good Offices were to be performed to his Friends without* Regard to *Party, and had always kept himself at a Distance from such Cabals, replied, That if Brutus had a Mind to make any Use of his Estate, he might use it, as far as it would bear*; *but that he would neither confer, nor have a Meeting with any one upon that Affair. Thus this Ball of Agreement was dashed in Pieces by the Dissent of him alone. And not long after Antony began to be uppermost*; *so*

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* The Reading here is *eum*; but I think it should be *eos*, and have translated accordingly; for no good Reason, I thank, can be given why the Eyes of the whole City should be turned upon Atticus, a private Gentleman; but a very good one, why they should be turned upon the Brutus's and Cassius, because they seemed to be now Men of the greatest Power and Interest in the whole Commonwealth.

consulibus, desperatis rebus, in exilium proficiscerentur. Atticus, qui pecuniam simul cum cæteris conferre noluerat florenti illi parti, abjecto Bruto, Italiàque cedenti LLS. centum millia muneri misit; eidem in Epiro absens CCC. jussit dari: neque eò magis potenti adulatus est Antonio, neque desperatos reliquit.

*so * that Brutus and Cassius, their Case being desperate, went into the Provinces which had been given them by the Consuls*, as it were *into Banishment. Atticus, who would not contribute Money, together with the rest, to that Party*, when *flourishing, sent as a Present a hundred thousand Sesterces to Brutus, in Distress, and retiring out of Italy; and ordered three hundred thousand more to be given him in Epire; nor did he therefore flatter Antony* now *in Power, nor leave those* that were *in a desperate Condition.*

CAP. CHAP.

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* The Text is here most vilely corrupted: 1st, *Provinciarum* should, I think, be *in Provincias*, as some Criticks would have it, for thither it is certain they did go; that is, into Macedonia and Syria; besides *rebus Provinciarum desperatis*, can signify nothing, in my Mind, but the Case or Condition of the Provinces being looked upon as desperate, *i. e.* by them; which had it been true, as it was not, would be a strange Kind of Reason for their going into Banishment, and into those very Provinces; the Provinces were in no Danger; they found, and raised together, considerable Armies there; enough, any one would have then thought, to have chased the three Tyrants, Antony, Lepidus, and Cesar, out of the Roman Empire. 2dly. *Dicis Causâ*, for Form's Sake, cannot stand, because not true. Those Provinces had been given them by Cesar, and confirmed to them by the Senate, not in formal empty Ceremony, or Compliment, whilst they were at Bottom never intended for them, but seriously, and out of Regard to the Public Interest; which required that two of the richest Provinces of the Roman Empire, and the best provided with Troops, should be in able and trusty Hands, well affected to the Public Liberty, and such as the honest Party could depend upon, at so dangerous a Juncture. This our Author knew as well as any Body, and therefore could not be guilty of saying, the Provinces were given them *Dicis Causâ*. Nor will the other Reading *Necis* do, without the Word *Cæsaris*, though I somewhat question even the Propriety of that Expression; however, without that Addition, the Word *Necis* can relate to none but the Persons mentioned, according to the constant Usage of the Latin Tongue; and then the Sense will be

CAP. IX. Secutum est bellum gestum apud Mutinam; in quo si tantùm eum prudentem dicam, minus quàm debeam prædicem, cùm ille potiùs divinus fuerit, si divinatio appellanda est perpetua naturalis bonitas, quæ nullis casibus augetur, neque minuitur. Hostis Antonius judicatus Italiâ cesserat: spes restituendi nulla erat: non solùm ejus inimici, qui tum erant potentissimi & plurimi, sed etiam amici adversariis ejus se dabant, & in eo lædendo se aliquam consecuturos sperabant commoditatem; ejus familiares insequebantur; uxorem Fulviam omnibus rebus

CHAP. IX. After this *followed the War carried on at Mutina*; * *in which, if I only style him prudent, I shall commend him less than I ought, since he was rather divine, if an uninterrupted natural Goodness, which is neither encreased nor diminished by any Events* of Fortune, *is to be called Divinity. Antony, being declared an Enemy, had quitted Italy*; *there was no Hope of restoring him*; *not only his Enemies, who then were very powerful and very many, but likewise his* quondam *Friends, joined themselves with his Enemies, and hoped they should make their Advantage by doing him a Mischief*; *they persecuted his Friends*; *sought to strip his Wife Fulvia of every Thing*;

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be ridiculous, *viz.* that those Provinces were given them upon Account of their own Death. 3dly, The Words *ab Consulibus* look very much like the Gloss of some Ignoramus in the Roman Customs; for Provinces were never dispos'd of by the Consuls, but either by Lot, by the Senate, or by the Votes of the People.

* Compare this Passage with another in the Close of the 16th Chapter, where our Author, in commending Cicero's Foresight, says, *Prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem.* I am very inclinable to think that *Divinatio* here is a false Reading for *Divinitas*, which is the only Salvo I believe can be found for our Author. Perhaps some ignorant Person, finding the two Passages something alike, has pretended to correct the former by the latter, which Correction at last got into all the Copies. It is plain the Text, according to the present Reading is Nonsense. There is no Manner of Affinity or Similitude betwixt *Divinatio* in the only Sense it can here have, that of Prophesying or Foretelling by Virtue of a divine Impulse upon the Mind, or Inspiration; I say, there is no Manner of Likeness betwixt *Divinatio* in that Sense, and the unalterable Goodness of Humanity in Atticus, which the Author is here commending, and consequently no Foundation for such an Application of the Word *Divinatio.* If we read *Divinitas*, for *Divinatio*, the Sense will be then what I have expressed in my Translation.

bus ſpoliare cupiebat; liberos etiam extinguere parabant. Atticus, cùm Ciceronis intimâ familiaritate uteretur, amiciſſimus eſſet Bruto, non modo nihil iis indulſit ad Antonium violandum; ſed è contrario familiares ejus, ex urbe profugientes, quantùm potuit, texit; quibus rebus indiguerunt, adjuvit. P. verò Volumnio ea tribuit, ut plura à parente proficiſci non potuerint. Ipſi autem Fulviæ, cum litibus diſtineretur, magniſque terroribus vexaretur, tantâ diligentiâ officium ſuum præſtitit, ut nullum illa ſteterit vadimonium ſine Attico; hic ſponſor omnium rerum fuerit: Quinetiam, cùm illa fundum ſecundâ fortunâ emiſſet in diem, neque poſt calamitatem verſuram facere potuiſſet, ille ſe interpoſuit, pecuniamque ſine fœnore, ſineque ullâ ſtipulatione ei credidit, maximum exiſtimans

*Thing*; and *endeavoured too to deſtroy his Children. Atticus, though he had an intimate Familiarity with Cicero*, and *was a very great Friend to Brutus, not only complied with them in nothing for the miſuſing of Antony: but on the contrary protected, as much as he could, his Friends flying out of the City*; and *aſſiſted them with what Things they wanted. He did theſe Things for P. Volumnius, that more could not have come from a Father. But he performed his* good *Offices with ſo much Care to Fulvia herſelf, when ſhe was* * *embarraſſed with Law-ſuits, and harraſſed with great Terrours, that ſhe never appeared upon Bail without Atticus; he was in all Caſes her Bondſman: Moreover, when ſhe had bought an Eſtate in her Proſperity* to be paid for *by a certain Day, and could not take up Money for it, after this unhappy Turn, he interpoſed, and truſted her the Money without Uſe, or* † *requiring any formal Promiſe*

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* *Diſtineo* ſeems originally and properly to ſignify to faſten, or pin down a Thing, on ſeveral Sides, as in that Paſſage of Ceſar in B. 1. C. 15 of the Civil War: *Has (naves) quaternis ancoris ex quatuor angulis diſtinebat, ne fluctibus moverentur.* Thence it was put figuratively for embarraſs, encumber, *&c.* Thus we meet with *diſtentus bello, curis, occupationibus*, for a Perſon, whoſe Attention is wholly taken up, pinned down, as it were, to the Buſineſs of War, various Concerns or Employs, which keep the Mind, as it were, on all Sides attached to them, ſo as not to leave it at Liberty to move, ſtir, or apply itſelf to any Thing elſe.

† *Stipulor*, from whence the Noun *Stipulatio* comes, ſignifies to require, upon the Concluſion of a Bargain or Agreement, a Pro-

mans quæſtum, memorem gratumque cognoſci; ſimulque aperire, ſe non fortunæ, ſed hominibus ſolere eſſe amicum; quæ cùm faciebat, nemo eum temporis cauſâ facere poterat exiſtimare. Nemini enim in opinionem veniebat, Antonium rerum potiturum. Sed ſenſus ejus à nonnullis optimatibus reprehendebatur, quòd parum odiſſe malos cives videretur.

*Promiſe of Repayment, thinking it the greateſt Gain, to be found mindful and grateful, and at the ſame Time to ſhew the World, that he did not uſe to be a Friend to Fortune, but to Men; which when he did, nobody could think that he did it for Time-ſerving. For it came into nobody's Thought, that Antony would* ever *have the Superiority* again. *But his Conduct was blamed by ſome of the * Party of the Quality, becauſe he ſeemed not ſufficiently to hate bad Citizens.*

CAP. X. Ille autem ſui judicii, potius, quid ſe facere par eſſet, intuebatur, quàm quid alii laudaturi forent. Converſa ſubitò fortuna eſt. Ut Antonius rediit in Italiam, nemo non magno in periculo Atticum futurum putaret, propter intimam familiaritatem Ciceronis & Bruti; itaque ad adventum imperatorum de foro decefferat, timens proſcriptionem: latebatque apud

CHAP. X. *But he being* under the Guidance *of his own Judgment, regarded rather what was fit for him to do, than what others would commend. On a ſudden Fortune was changed. When Antony returned into Italy, every Body thought Atticus would be in great Danger, becauſe of the intimate Familiarity of Cicero and Brutus* with him; *wherefore upon the coming of the † Generals* to Town, *he had withdrawn from the Forum, fearing*

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miſe, by repeating, in clear and full Terms, the Subſtance of the Agreement, as in *Plautus*; *Dabiſne argenti mihi hodie viginti minas?* is a *Stipulatio*, to which the other Party anſwers, *Dabo*. Atticus was ſo little concerned for the Security of his Money, that he did not ſo much as inſiſt upon a ſet formal Promiſe for the Repayment of it.

* Thoſe in Rome, that were for advancing the Power of the Senate, were called *Optimates*; and thoſe, on the other hand, that ſtood up for the Rights and Privileges of the People, were called *Populares*. In the former Party were the Gentry generally, in the latter the Populace.

† Antony, Lepidus, and Ceſar.

pud P. Volumnium, cui, ut oſtendimus paulò antè, opem tulerat. (Tanta varietas iis temporibus fuit fortunæ, ut modò hi, modò illi, in ſummo eſſent aut faſtigio, aut periculo.) Habebatque ſecum Q. Gellium Canium, æqualem, ſimillimumque ſui. Hoc quoquè ſit Attici bonitatis exemplum, quòd cum eo, quem puerum in ludo cognoverat, adeò conjunctè vixit, ut ad extremam ætatem amicitia eorum creverit. Antonius autem, etſi tantò odio ferebatur in Ciceronem, ut non ſolùm ei, ſed omnibus etiam ejus amicis eſſet inimicus, eoſque vellet proſcribere; multis hortantibus tamen, Attici memor fuit officii; et ei, cum requiſiſſet ubinam eſſet, ſuâ manu ſcripſit, ne timeret, ſtatimque ad ſe veniret; ſe eum, & Gellium Canium de proſcriptorum numero exemiſſe, ac, ne quod periculum incideret, quod noctu fiebat, præſidium ei miſit. Sic Atticus in ſummo timore non ſolùm ſibi,

*ing the* * *Proſcription*; *and abſconded with P. Volumnius, to whom he had given his Aſſiſtance, as I have ſhewn a little above. (So great was the Variety of Fortune in thoſe Times, that one while theſe, another while thoſe, were either in the greateſt Height* of Grandeur, *or the greateſt Danger.) And he had with him Q. Gellius Canius, equal in Age, and very much like himſelf. This likewiſe may be another Inſtance of Atticus's Goodneſs, that he lived in ſuch a cloſe Union with him, whom he had known* when *a Boy at School, that their Friendſhip grew* even *to their old Age. But Antony, though he was puſhed on with ſo great a Reſentment, againſt* † *Cicero, that he was not an Enemy to him only, but to all his Friends, and intended to proſcribe them; yet, many* People *adviſing him* to it, *he was mindful of Atticus's Kindneſs; and when he had inquired where he was, wrote to him with his own Hand, that he ſhould not fear, and that he ſhould come to him out of hand, that he had taken him, and Gellius Canius out of the Number*



* Proſcription was the poſting up of Gentlemens Names in the moſt public Parts of Rome, with the Promiſe of a Reward to ſuch as ſhould bring their Heads. This abominable Butchery was firſt uſed by Sylla, ſpoken of above.

† This Cicero was a Perſon of the higheſt Abilities in Rome, a good Philoſopher, and the greateſt Maſter of Eloquence that ever lived; which fine Talent coſt him his Life: For having exerted it in ſeveral Harangues before the Senate againſt Antony, he ſo incenſed him, that nothing could ſatisfy him but the Head of the Speaker, which he got at laſt, though Ceſar ſtruggled a long Time to ſave him.

sibi, sed etiam ei, quem carissimum habebat, præsidio fuit: neque enim suæ solùm à quoquam auxilium petiît salutis, sed conjunctim; ut appareret nullam sejunctam sibi ab eo velle esse fortunam: quòd si gubernator præcipuâ laude fertur, qui navem ex hyeme, marique scopuloso servat; cur non singularis ejus exiſtimetur prudentia, qui ex tot, tamque gravibus procellis civilibus, ad incolumitatem pervenit?

*of the Proscribed; and that he might not fall into any Danger, which was* then *usual in the Night, he sent him a Guard. Thus Atticus, under the utmost Apprehension, was not only a Security to himself, but also to him whom he held most dear: For he did not desire Help,* in order *to his own Security only, but in Conjunction* with his Friend; *that it might appear that he had a Mind to have no Fortune apart from him: But if a Pilot is extolled with singular Commendation, who saves a Ship out of a Storm, and a rocky Sea; why should not his Prudence be thought singular, who, out of so many and such violent civil Storms, came to a State of Security?*

CAP. XI. Quibus ex malis ut se emersit, nihil aliud egit, quam ut plurimis, quibus rebus posset, esset auxilio. Cùm proscriptos, præmiis Imperatorum, vulgus conquireret, nemo in Epirum venit, cui res ulla defuerit: nemini non ibi perpetuo manendi potestas facta est. Quinetiam, post prælium Philippense, interitumque C. Cassii, & M. Bruti, L. Julium Mocillam Prætorem, & filium ejus, Aulumque Torquatum, cæterosque pari fortunâ perculsos instituit tueri, atque ex Epiro his omnia Samothraciam supportari jussit. Difficile enim est omnia

CHAP. XI. *Out of which Distress after he had delivered himself, he minded nothing else but that he might be aiding to as many as possible, in what Things he could. Whilst the common People sought after the Proscribed, upon the* promised *Rewards of the Generals, nobody came into Epire, to whom any Thing was wanting: Every one had a Convenience given them of staying there constantly. Moreover, after the Battle of* * *Philippi, and the Death of C. Cassius, and M. Brutus, he resolved to protect L. Julius Mocilla the Prætor, and his Son, and A. Torquatus, and the rest* that were *borne down by the like ill Fortune, and ordered all Necessaries to be carried to them*

* Philippi was a City of Macedonia, nigh the Borders of Thrace.

omnia perſequi, & non neceſſaria: Illud unum intelligi volumus, illius liberalitatem neque temporariam, neque callidam fuiſſe; id ex ipſis rebus ac temporibus judicari poteſt; quòd non florentibus ſe venditavit, ſed afflictis ſemper ſuccurrit; qui quidem Serviliam Bruti matrem, non minùs poſt mortem ejus, quàm florentem, coluerit. Sic liberalitate utens, nullas inimicitias geſſit, quod neque lædebat quenquam, neque ſi quam injuriam acceperat, malebat ulciſci, quàm obliviſci. Idem immortali memoriâ recepta retinebat beneficia; quæ autem ipſe tribuerat, tamdiu meminerat, quoad ille gratus erat, qui acceperat: itaque hic fecit, ut verè dictum videatur, *Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam.* Neque tamen prius ille fortunam, quàm ſe, ipſe finxit, qui cavit, ne quâ in re jure plecteretur.

*them from Epirus to* * *Samothrace.* † *But it is difficult to run through all the Particulars* of this Kind, *and not* ‡ *neceſſary: We would have this one Thing underſtood, That his Generoſity was neither temporary nor ſilly intended; that may be diſcerned by the Things and Times themſelves; becauſe he did not make his Court to thoſe that were in a flouriſhing Condition, but always ſuccoured the Diſtreſſed; who treated with Honour Servilia the Mother of Brutus no leſs after his Death, than* when *in a flouriſhing Condition. Thus employing his Generoſity, he had no Quarrels* with any body, *becauſe he neither injured any one, nor if he had received any Injury, did he chuſe rather to revenge it, than forget it. The ſame* Man *kept in perpetual Remembrance Kindneſſes received; but what he himſelf beſtowed, he remembered ſo long as he was grateful that had received them; wherefore this he effected* by his Behaviour; *that it ſeems to have been truly ſaid,* Every one's Manners make his Fortune; ‖ *neither*

CAP.

* Samothrace is an Iſland of the Egean Sea, nigh the Coaſt of Thrace.

† *Enim* ſeems to have been put here by the Heedleſſneſs of ſome Copier of Books for *Autem*; for what follows is no Reaſon of what goes before, as it ſhould be, if *enim* was the true Reading.

‡ This *Neceſſaria*, I think, ſhould be *neceſſariam*; for elſe I ſee not how it is poſſible to make Senſe of this Paſſage.

‖ What our Author here ſays, is, in my Opinion, very ſilly; *tamen* always intimates ſome ſeeming Oppoſition betwixt what goes before, and what follows; but there is ſo far from being any ſuch ſeeming Oppoſition here, that there is a very manifeſt Agreement, it following very evidently from the Maxim aforegoing, if true, that Atticus, to form his Fortune, muſt form himſelf firſt.

*ther yet did he form his Fortune before he formed himſelf, who took Care that he ſhould not be juſtly puniſhed in any Caſe.*

CAP. XII. His igitur rebus effecit, ut M. Vipſanius Agrippa, intimâ familiaritate conjunctus adoleſcenti Cæſari, cùm propter ſuam gratiam, & Cæſaris potentiam, nullius conditionis non haberet poteſtatem, potiſſimùm ejus diligeret affinitatem, præoptaretque equitis R. filiam generoſam nuptiis: atque harum nuptiarum conciliator fuit (non enim eſt celandum) M. Antonius, Triumvir Reip. conſtituendæ, cujus gratiâ cùm augere poſſeſſiones poſſet ſuas, tantùm abfuit à cupiditate pecuniæ, ut nullâ in re uſus ſit eâ niſi in deprecandis amicorum aut periculis, aut incommodis: quod quidem ſub ipſam proſcriptionem perilluſtre fuit: nam cùm L. Saufeii equitis R. æqualis ſui, qui complures annos, ſtudio ductus philoſophiæ, Athenis habitabat, habebatque in Italiâ pretioſas poſſeſſiones, Triumviri bona venditârent; contuetudine eâ, quâ tum res gerebantur; Attici labore atque induſtriâ factum eſt, ut eodem nuntio

CHAP. XII. *By theſe Things therefore he brought it about, that M. Vipſanius Agrippa, united with the Youth Ceſar in a cloſe Familiarity, when, by reaſon of his own Intereſt and Ceſar's Power, he had a Poſſibility of* attaining *any Match* whatever, *choſe his Affinity above all others, and preferred the Daughter of a Roman Knight before the Matches of the* * *moſt noble Ladies: And the Maker up of this Match was (for we muſt not conceal it) M. Antony, the Triumvir for ſettling the Commonwealth; by whoſe intereſt when he might have encreaſed his Poſſeſſions, he was ſo far from a greedy Deſire of Money, that he made uſe of that* Intereſt *in nothing, but begging off the Dangers and Troubles of his Friends; which was very remarkable in* the Time of *the Proſcription: For when the Triumviri, according to the Way in which Things were then managed, had ſold the Eſtate of L. Saufeius a Roman Knight, his Friend, who, moved by his Fancy for Philoſophy, lived ſeveral Years at Athens, and had in Italy valuable Poſſeſſions;*

* *Generoſum* ſhould be, in my Opinion, *Generoſarum*; for though the Lady was of an Equeſtrian Family, yet ſince none of the Family had ever arrived to the Senatorian Order, ſhe could not be called *generoſa*, in Compariſon of many other Ladies in Rome that were far beyond her in Point of Quality.

tio Saufeius fieret certior, ſe patrimonium amiſiſſe, & recuperâſſe. Idem L. Julium Calidium, quem poſt Lucretii Catulique mortem, multò elegantiſſimum poëtam, noſtram tuliſſe ætatem, verè videor poſſe contendere; neque minùs virum bonum, optimiſque artibus eruditum; poſt proſcriptionem equitum, propter magnas ejus Africanas poſſeſſiones, in proſcriptorum numerum a P Volumnio, præfecto fabrûm Antonii, abſentem relatum, expedivit; quod in præſenti, utrum ei laboriofius an glorioſius fuerit, difficile fuit judicare; quòd in eorum periculis non ſecùs abſentes, quàm præſentes amicos Attico eſſe curæ, cognitum eſt.

*ſeſſions; it was brought about by the Pains and Induſtry of Atticus, that Saufeius was made acquainted by the ſame Meſſage, that he had loſt his Eſtate, and recovered it. The ſame Perſon likewiſe brought off L. Julius Calidius, whom methinks I may truly affirm our Age has produced much the fineſt Poet, ſince the Death of Lucretius and Catullus; and no leſs a good Man, and ſkilled in the beſt Arts; after the Proſcription of the Knights, put into the Number of the Proſcribed, becauſe of his great Eſtate in Africa, by P. Volumnius, a Director of Antony's Engineers: which, whether it was more laborious or more glorious at that Time, was hard to judge; becauſe it was obſerved that Atticus's Friends, in their Dangers, were no leſs his Care* when *abſent, than* when *preſent.*

Cap. XIII. Neque verò minùs ille vir bonus paterfamilias habitus eſt, quàm civis. Nam cùm eſſet pecunioſus, nemo illo minùs fuit emax, minùs ædificator; neque tamen non in primis bene habitavit, omnibuſque optimis rebus uſus eſt; nam domum habuit in colle Quirinali Tamphilanam, ab avunculo hæreditate relictam, cujus amœnitas non ædificio, ſed ſylvâ conſtabat; ipſum enim tectum antiquitus conſtitutum plùs ſalis quàm ſumptûs habebat? in quo nihil

Chap. XIII. *Neither was this Gentleman reckoned a leſs good Maſter of a Family, than a Citizen. For tho' he was a monied Man, yet nobody was leſs addicted to buying, nor leſs a Builder; and yet he had a very convenient Dwelling, and had all Things of the very beſt. For he had the Tamphilan Houſe in the Quirinal Hill, an Eſtate left him by his Uncle, the Pleaſantneſs of which did not conſiſt in the Building* itſelf, *but in a Wood; for the Houſe itſelf, being old built, had more of Neatneſs than Expence* about it; *to which he changed nothing, unleſs to*

nihil commutavit, nisi si quid vetustate coactus est. Usus est familiâ, si utilitate judicandum est, optimâ; si formâ, vix mediocri; namque in eâ erant pueri literatissimi, anagnostæ optimi, & plurimi librarii; ut ne pedissequus quidam quisquam esset, qui non utrumque horum pulchrè facere posset. Pari modo artifices cæteri, quos cultus domesticus desiderat, apprimè boni; neque tamen horum quenquam, nisi domi natum, domique factum, habuit; quod est signum non solùm continentiæ, sed etiam diligentiæ: nam & non intemperanter concupiscere, quod à plurimis videas, continentis debet duci; & potiùs diligentiâ, quàm pretio, parare, non mediocris est industriæ. Elegans, non magnificus; splendidus, non sumptuosus: omni diligentiâ munditiem non affluentem affectabat: suppellex modica, non multa, ut in neutram partem conspici posset. Nec hoc præteribo, quanquam nonnuliis leve visum iri putem: cum in primis lautus esset eques Rom. & non parum liberaliter domum suam omnium ordinum homines invitaret; scimus non

*he was forced by the Oldness of it. He had* * *a Family of Servants, if we are to judge by Convenience, very good; if by outward Appearance, scarcely indifferent; for in it were very learned Boys, very good Readers, and many Transcribers of Books; that there was not indeed any Footman, that could not do both these very well. In like Manner other Artists, which domestic Use requires,* were *extremely good; neither yet had he any of those, but* what was *born in his House; and instructed in his House: which is a Sign not only of Moderation, but Diligence: For not extravagantly to desire, what you see* to be so desired *by many, ought to be accounted* the Part *of a moderate Man; and to procure* Things *by Diligence, rather than Purchase, is a Matter of no small Industry.* He was *elegant, not magnificent; splendid, not prodigal: He affected, with all* possible Care, *a Neatness* that was *not extravagant: His Furniture* was *moderate, not much; so as to be remarkable neither Way. Nor shall I pass this by, although I suppose it may seem a slight Matter to some: Though he was a genteel Roman Knight, and invited, not a little generously, Men of all Ranks to his House; we know that he did not use to reckon from his* † *Day-Book expended*

* *Familia* is often, as here, put for the Servants of a Family only; and good Reason why, since the Word seems plainly derived from *famulus*, or else the latter from the former.

† It was usual with the Romans to keep an exact Account of their

non ampliùs quam terna millia æris peræque, in ſingulos menſes, ex ephemeride eum expenſum ſumptui ferre ſolitum: que hoc non auditum, ſed cognitum prædicamus: ſæpe enim, propter familiaritatem, domeſticis rebus interfuimus.

*pended* more *than three thouſand* * *Aſſes a Month, one with another: And this we affirm, not* as *a Thing heard, but a Certainty: becauſe we were often, by Reaſon of our Intimacy, actually preſent at the* Management of *his domeſtick Affairs.*

Cap. XIV. Nemo in convivio ejus aliud ἀκρόαμα audivit, quàm anagnoſten; quod nos quidem jucundiſſimum arbitramur: neque unquam ſine aliquâ lectione apud eum cœnatum eſt; ut non minùs animo, quàm ventre, convivæ delectarentur; namque eos vocabat, quorum mores à ſuis non abhorrerent. Cùm tantæ pecuniæ facta eſſet acceſſio, nihil de quotidiano cultu mutavit; nihil de vitæ conſuetudine: tantâque uſus eſt moderatione, ut neque in ſeſtertio vicies, quod à patre acceperat, parum ſe ſplendidè geſſerit; neque in ſeſtertio centies, affluentiùs vixerit, quàm inſtituerit: parique faſtigio ſteterit in utrâque fortunâ.

Chap. XIV. *Nobody ever heard any other* † *Entertainment for the Ears at his Meals than a Reader; which we truly think very pleaſant: nor was there ever a Supper at his Houſe, without ſome Reading; that his Guests might be entertained in their Minds, as well as their Stomachs; for he invited thoſe, whoſe Manners were not different from his own. And after ſo great an Addition was made to his Eſtate, he changed nothing of his daily Way of Life; nothing of his uſual Method of living; and uſed ſo much Moderation, that neither in an Eſtate of twenty Times a hundred thouſand Seſterces, which he had received from his Father, did he behave himſelf ungentcely; nor in an Eſtate of a hundred Times a hundred thouſand Seſterces, did he live more*



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their daily Diſburſements, and Receipts too, as appears from many Paſſages in the Roman Writers; the Book, in which theſe Accounts were kept, was called *Ephemeris*.

* The *As* was nearly a Penny of our Money, and ſo the whole Sum almoſt eleven Pounds. Things muſt have been very cheap in Rome, in Compariſon to what they have been now-a-days with us, otherwiſe Atticus could not have frequently entertained, and that handſomely and genteely, Perſons of the beſt Quality at his Table, at ſo ſmall an Expence monthly.

† It was uſual, at the Tables of Perſons of Quality in Rome, to entertain the Gueſts with Muſick, Farces, &c.

tunâ. Nullos habuit hortos, nullam suburbanam aut maritimam sumptuosam villam; neq; in Italiâ, præter Ardeatinam & Nomentanum, rusticum prædium: omnisque ejus pecuniæ reditus constabat in Epiroticis, & urbanis possessionibus; ex quo cognosci potest, eum usum pecuniæ non magnitudine, sed ratione metiri solitum.

*plentifully than he had been used to do; and stood upon an equal Height in both Fortunes. He had no Gardens, no magnificent Seat nigh the City, or upon the Sea: nor any Land Estate in Italy, besides that at * Ardea, and at † Nomentum: and his whole Income of Money consisted in his Possessions in Epire, and the City of* Rome; *from whence it may be understood, that he measured the Use of Money, not by its Quantity, but by the Manner of using it.*

CAP. XV. Mendacium neque dicebat, neque pati poterat; itaque ejus comitas non sine severitate erat, neque gravitas sine facilitate; ut difficile esset intellectu, utrùm eum amici magis vererentur, an amarent. Quidquid rogabatur, religiosè promittebat; quòd non liberalis, sed levis arbitrabatur, polliceri quod præstare non posset. Idem in nitendo quod semel admisisset, tanta erat cura, ut non mandatam, sed suam rem videretur agere. Nunquam suscepti negotii eum pertæsum est; suam enim existimationem in eâ re agi putabat, quâ nihil habebat carius; quo fiebat, ut omnia Marci & Quinti Ciceronum,

CHAP. XV. *He neither told a Lie himself, nor could he endure it: Wherefore his ‡ Complaisance was not without a strict Regard to Truth, nor his Gravity without a good Degree of Compliance; that it was hard to be understood, whether his Friends reverenced or loved him more. Whatsoever he was asked, he promised § scrupulously; because he thought* it the Part *not of a generous but an inconsiderate Man, to promise what he could not perform. The same* Man *was a Person of so much Application in endeavouring* to effect *what he had once promised, that he did not seem to manage an Affair recommended* to him by another, *but his own. He was never weary of*

* Ardea was a City of Latium, nigh the Sea, about twenty Miles from Rome.

† Nomentum, a Town in the Country of the Sabines.

‡ *Comitas* signifies Complaisance or Civility, in the Expression of which it has always been but too customary to have small Regard to Truth.

§ He was not very forward in his Promises, lest the Performance should not be in his Power.

ronum, Catonis, Hortenſii, A. Torquati, multorum præterea equitum Romanorum negotia procuraret: ex quo judicari poterat, non inertiâ ſed judicio fugiſſe Reipub. procurationem.

*of a Buſineſs* he had *undertaken; for he thought his Credit concerned in that Matter, than which he accounted nothing more valuable; from whence it was, that he managed all the Affairs of the Cicero's, Marcus and Quintus, of Cato, Hortenſius, A. Torquatus,* and *many Roman Knights beſides; from which it might be judged, that he declined the Buſineſs of Government not out of Lazineſs, but Judgment.*

Cap. XVI. Humanitatis verò nullum afferre majus teſtimonium poſſum, quàm quòd adoleſcens, idem ſeni Syllæ fuerit jucundiſſimus: ſenex, adoleſcenti M. Bruto; cum æqualibus autem ſuis Q. Hortenſio, & M. Cicerone, ſic vixerit, ut judicare difficile ſit, cui ætati fuerit aptiſſimus; quanquam eum præcipuè dilexit Cicero, ut ne frater quidem ei Quintus carior fuerit, aut familiarior. Ei rei ſunt indicio, præter eos libros, in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus jam ſunt editi, ſexdecim volumina epiſtolarum, ab Conſulatu ejus uſque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum miſſarum; quæ qui legat, non multùm deſideret hiſtoriam contextam eorum temporum: ſic enim omnia de ſtudiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus Reip. perſcripta ſunt, ut nihil in iis non appareat: & facilè exiſtimari poſſit, prudentiam quodam modo eſſe divinationem: non enim Cicero

Chap. XVI. *But I can produce no greater Proof of his Politeneſs, than that the ſame* Man, when *young, was very agreeable to Sylla an old Man*; and when *old*, was the *ſame to M. Brutus, a young Man; but he ſo lived with his Friends of the ſame Age with himſelf, Q. Hortenſius and M. Cicero, that it is hard to judge to what Age he was moſt ſuited; tho' Cicero loved him in a particular Manner, ſo that his Brother Quintus was not more dear to him, or more familiar* with him. *And ſixteen Volumes of Epiſtles ſent to Atticus, from* the Time of *his Conſulſhip to the latter End of his Life, are a Proof of that Thing; beſides thoſe Books, wherein he makes mention of him, which are publiſhed to the World; which he that reads won't much want a continued Hiſtory of thoſe Times: For ſo all Particulars are put down, relating to the Deſigns of the leading Men, the Faults of the Commanders, and the Revolutions of the Government, that every Thing appears in them; and it may be eaſily thought, that Prudence is in ſome*

cero ea ſolum, quæ vivo ſe acciderunt, futura prædixit; ſed etiam, quæ nunc uſu veniunt, cecinit vates.

*Meaſure a Divine Foreſight: for Cicero did not only foretel thoſe Things would be, which happened* whilſt *he* was *alive*; *but likewiſe predicted, as a Prophet, what now comes to paſs.*

CAP. XVII. De pietate autem Attici quid plura commemorem? cùm hoc ipſum vere gloriantem audierim, in funere matris ſuæ, quam extulit annorum nonaginta, cum eſſet ſeptem & ſexaginta; ſe nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediiſſe; nunquam cum ſorore fuiſſe in ſimultate, quam prope æqualem habebat; quod eſt ſignum, aut nullam unquam inter eos querimoniam interceſſiſſe, aut hunc eâ fuiſſe in ſuos indulgentiâ, ut quos amare deberet, iraſci eis nefas duceret. Neque id fecit naturâ ſolùm, quanquam omnes ei paremus, ſed etiam doctrinâ: nam & principum Philoſophorum ita percepta habuit præcepta, ut iis ad vitam agendam, non ad oſtentationem, uteretur.

CHAP. XVII. *As to Atticus's Affection for his Relations, why ſhould I ſay much? having heard him boaſt of this*, and *truly* too, *at the Funeral of his Mother, whom he buried at ninety Years of Age, when he was ſixty-ſeven; that he never returned to a good Underſtanding with his Mother, never was at any Difference with his Siſter; which he had nearly of the ſame Age; which is a Sign, either that no Complaint had paſſed betwixt them, or that he was a* Man *of ſo much Indulgence for his Relations, that he reckoned it a Crime to be angry with thoſe, whom he ought to love. Nor did he do this from Nature only, altho' we all obey her, but likewiſe out of Principle, for he had ſo learned the Precepts of the greateſt Philoſophers, that he made Uſe of them for the Conduct of his Life, and not for Oſtentation.*

CAP. XVIII. Moris etiam majorum ſummus imitator fuit, antiquitatiſque amator; quam adeò diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine expoſuerit, quo magiſtratus ornavit. Nulla enim lex, neque pax, neque bellum, neque

CHAP. XVIII. *He was likewiſe a great Imitator of the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors, and a Lover of Antiquity; which he had ſo diligently enquired into, that he gave an Account of it thoroughly in that Volume, in which* * *he has put down, in Order of Time, the* ſeveral *Magiſtrates*

* I am of the Opinion of thoſe who think that for *ornavit* we ought to read *ordinavit*. *Ornare Magiſtratus* is indeed a Latin Expreſſion, but bears a Senſe quite foreign to any Purpoſe of our Author.

neque res illuſtris eſt populi Rom. quæ non, in eo, ſuo tempore, ſit notata; &, quod difficillimum fuit, ſic familiarum originum ſubtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines poſſimus cognoſcere. Fecit hoc idem ſeparatim in aliis libris; ut M. Bruti rogatu, Juniam familiam à ſtirpe ad hanc ætatem ordine enumeravit, notans qui, à quo ortus, quos honores, quibuſque temporibus cepiſſet. Pari modo, Marcelli Claudii, de Marcellorum; Scipionis Cornelii, & Fabii Maximi, de Corneliorum, & Fabiorum, & Æmiliorum: quibus libris nihil poteſt eſſe dulcius iis, qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiæ clarorum virorum. Attigit quoque poëticen, credimus, ne ejus expers eſſet ſuavitatis. Namque verſibus, qui honore, rerumque geſtarum amplitudine cæteros Romani populi præſtiterunt, expoſuit; ita ut ſub ſingulorum imaginibus, facta magiſtratuſque eorum non amplius quaternis quinisve verſibus deſcripſerit; quod vix credendum ſit, tantas res tam breviter potuiſſe declarari. Eſt etiam liber, Græcè confectus, de Conſulatu Ciceronis. Hactenus, Attico vivo, edita hæc à nobis ſunt.

*giſtrates of* Rome: *There is no Law, nor Peace, nor War, nor illuſtrious Affair of the Roman People, which is not ſet down in it, in its proper Time: And, what was very difficult, he has ſo interwoven the Original of Families, that we may learn from thence the Deſcents of famous Men. He did this ſame Thing apart in other Books; as, at the Requeſt of M. Brutus, he reckoned up in Order the Junian Family from their Original to this Age, taking Notice of what Offices, and at what Time, every one, and from whom deſcended, had borne. In like Manner,* at the Requeſt of *Marcellus Claudius*, he enumerated that * *of the Marcelli.* At the Requeſt of *Scipio Cornelius and Fabius Maximus*, that *of the Cornelii, and the Fabii, and the Æmilii: than which Books nothing can be more pleaſant to thoſe, who have any Fancy for the Knowledge of famous Men. He likewiſe had a Touch at Poetry, that he might not be unacquainted with that Pleaſure, we ſuppoſe. For he has related in Verſes,* the Lives of thoſe, *who excelled the reſt of the Roman People in Honour, and the Greatneſs of their Exploits; ſo that he has deſcribed, under each of their Images, their Actions and Offices, in no more than four or five Verſes: which is ſcarcely to be believed that ſuch great Things could be ſo briefly delivered. There is likewiſe a Book* of his *written in Greek, concerning the Conſulſhip of Cicero.*

CAP. *Thus*

* The Prepoſition *De* ſhould certainly be out, and accordingly ſome Manuſcripts have it not.

*Thus far was publiſhed by us,* whilſt *Atticus was living.*

CAP. XIX. Nunc, quoniam fortuna nos ſuperſtites ei eſſe voluit, reliqua perſequemur; & quantùm poterimus rerum exemplis lectores docebimus, ſicut ſuprà ſignificavimus, *Suos cuique mores plerumque conciliare fortunam.* Namque hic contentus ordine Equeſtri, quo erat ortus, in affinitatem pervenit Imperatoris, Divi Julii filii, cùm jam ante familiaritatem ejus eſſet conſecutus nullâ aliâ re, quàm elegantiâ vitæ, quâ cæteros ceperat principes civitatis, dignitate pari, fortunâ humiliore. Tanta enim proſperitas Cæſarem eſt conſecuta, ut nihil ei non tribuerit fortuna, quod cuiquam antè detulerat; & conciliârit quod civis Romanus quivit conſequi. Nata autem eſt Attico neptis ex Agrippâ, cui virginem filiam collocârat: Hanc Cæſar, vix anniculam, Tiberio Claudio Neroni, Druſillâ nato privigno ſuo, deſpondit; quæ conjunctio

CHAP. XIX. *Now, ſince Fortune had a Mind that we ſhould be the Survivors of him, we will go thro' the Remainder* of his Life; *and, as far as we can, will inform our Readers by Inſtances of Fact as we have ſignified above,* That every Man's Manners for the moſt Part make his Fortune. *For he being content with the Equeſtrian Order, from whence he was deſcended, came into the Alliance of the * Emperor Julius's Son, after he had before gained a Familiarity with him, by nothing elſe but the Elegance of his Life, by which † he had charmed the other great Men of the City, of equal Quality, but a lower Fortune* than Ceſar. *For ſo much Proſperity attended Ceſar, that Fortune gave him every Thing that ſhe had beſtowed upon any one before; and procured him* all *that a Roman Citizen could accompliſh. Now Atticus had a Grand-daughter born of Agrippa, to whom he had diſpoſed of his Daughter* when *a Virgin: Ceſar contracted her,* when *ſcarcely a Year old, to T. Claudius Nero,*

* I have not thought it worth while to tranſlate *Divus*; it would ſound very oddly in our Language to give the Stile of a God to ſuch an ambitious wicked Mortal as Julius Ceſar was. It was a profane ſtupid Practice amongſt the Romans, not to be outdone by any Thing amongſt the moſt barbarous Nations, to rank their Emperors, (unleſs they were Devils indeed) after their Deceaſe, amongſt the Gods. Which continued even ſome Time after the Emperors became Chriſtians, if Eutropius may be truſted.

† Here I have the Misfortune again to differ very widely from Major Pack. Which of us is miſtaken, muſt be referred to the judgment of the intelligent Reader, that ſhall think it worth while to compare our Tranſlations with the Original.

junctio neceſſitudinem eorum ſanxit, familiaritatem reddidit frequentiorem.

Cap. XX. Quamvis ante hæc ſponſalia, non ſolùm, cùm ab urbe abeſſet, nunquam ad ſuorum quenquam literas miſit, quin Attico mitteret, quid ageret; imprimis, quid legeret, quibusque in locis, & quamdiu eſſet moraturus; ſed & cùm eſſet in urbe, & propter ſuas infinitas occupationes, minùs ſæpe quàm vellet Attico frueretur, nullus dies tamen temerè interceſſit, quo non ad eum ſcriberet, quo non aliquid de antiquitate ab eo requireret; modo aliquam quæſtionem poëticam ei proponeret; interdum jocans ejus verboſiores eliceret epiſtolas: ex quo accidit, cum ædes Jovis Feretrii in Capitolio, ab Romulo conſtituta, vetuſtate atque incuriâ detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu Cæſar eam reficiendam curaret. Neque verò à M. Antonio minùs, abſens, literis colebatur, adeò ut accuratè ille, ex ultimis terris, quid ageret, quid curæ ſibi haberet certiorem faceret Atticum. Hoc quale ſit, faciliùs exiſtimabat is, qui judicare poterit, quantæ ſit ſapientiæ eorum retinere uſum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non ſolum æmulatio, ſed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere

*Nero, born of Druſilla, his Step-Son; which Match eſtabliſhed their Friendſhip*, and *rendered their familiar Converſe more frequent.*

Chap. XX. *Altho' before this Match, not only when he was abſent from Town, he never ſent a Letter to any of his Friends, but he ſent one to Atticus*, to acquaint him *what he was doing; eſpecially what he was reading, and in what Places, and how long he would ſtay; but alſo, when he was in Town, and becauſe of his infinite Buſineſs, enjoyed Atticus not ſo oft as he had a Mind, yet no Day ſcarcely paſſed, in which he did not write to him, in which he did not make ſome Enquiry of him relating to Antiquity; ſometimes he would propoſe ſome poetical Queſtion to him; ſometimes jeſting would draw from him a long Letter; from whence it happened, when the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, built in the Capitol by Romulus, being uncovered thro' Age and Neglect, was coming down, that upon the Admonition of Atticus, Ceſar took Care that it was repaired. Nor was he leſs civilly applied to in Letters by M. Antony, when abſent. So that he made Atticus acquainted particularly, from the remoteſt Parts of the Earth, with what he was doing, what Care he had upon him. How conſiderable this is, he will more eaſily imagine, who can judge how great* a Point of *Wiſdom it is to keep the Friendſhip and Favour of thoſe, betwixt whom there paſſed not only ſo great an Emulation upon* account of *Matters of the utmoſt*

incidere neceſſe inter Cæſarem atque Antonium? cùm ſe uterque principem non ſolùm urbis Romanæ, ſed orbis terrarum eſſe cuperet.

*utmoſt Importance, but a mutual Struggle to leſſen one another, as was neceſſary to happen betwixt Ceſar and Antony; whilſt each of them deſired to be the Prince, not only of the City of Rome, but of the World.*

CAP. XXI. Tali modo, cùm ſeptem & ſeptuaginta annos compléſſet, atque ad extremam ſenectutem non minùs dignitate, quam gratiâ fortunâque creviſſet, (multas enim hæreditates nullâ aliâ re, quàm bonitate, eſſe conſecutus) tantâque proſperitate uſus eſſet valetudinis, ut annis triginta medicinâ non indiguiſſet; nactus eſt morbum, quem initio & ipſe & medici contempſerunt: [nàm putârunt eſſe τενεσμὸν, cui remedia celeria facilisque proponebantur: in hoc cùm tres menſes ſine ullis doloribus, præterquam quos ex curatione capiebat, conſumpſiſſet; ſubitò tanta vis morbi in unum inteſtinum prorupit, ut extremo tempore, per lumbos fiſtula putris eruperit: atque hoc priuſquam ei accideret,] poſtquam in dies dolores accreſcere, febremque acceſſiſſe ſenſit, Agrippam generum ad ſe accerſi juſſit, & cum eo L. Cornelium Balbum, Sextumque Peducæum. Hos ut veniſſe vidit, in cubitum innixus, *Quantàm,*

CHAP. XXI. *After he had completed, in this Manner, ſeventy-ſeven Years, and had advanced no leſs in Dignity, than in Favour and Fortune, to an extreme old Age, (for he had got ſeveral Inheritances by no other Thing than his Goodneſs) and had ſuch a happy State of Health, that he ſtood not in need of* any *Phyſick for thirty Years* together; *he contracted a Diſtemper, which at firſt both he and his Phyſicians deſpiſed; for they thought it to be* * *a Tenеſmos; for which ſpeedy and eaſy Remedies were propoſed: After he had paſſed three Months in this Diſtemper without any Pains, beſides what he received from the* Method taken for his *Cure; on a ſudden ſo great a Violence of the Diſtemper broke out upon one of his Inteſtines, that at length, a putrid Fiſtula broke thro' his Loins: And before this happened to him, after he found that his Pains grew upon him every Day, and that a Fever was ſuperadded to them; he ordered his Son-in-Law Agrippa to be called to him, and with him L. Cornelius Balbus, and Sextus Peducæus. When he ſaw they were come, leaning upon his Elbow,*

* A *Tenеſmus* (to uſe Major Pack's Words) is a violent Motion without a Power of going to Stool.

*tam*, inquit, *curam diligentiamque in valetudine meâ tuendâ hoc tempore adhibuerim, cum vos teſtes habeam, nihil neceſſe pluribus verbis commemorare: quibus quoniam, ut ſpero, ſatisfeci, nihilque reliqui feci, quod ad ſanandum me pertineret, reliquum eſt, ut egomet mihi conſulam. Id vos ignorare nolui; nam mihi ſtat alere morbum deſinere: Namque his diebus quicquid cibi ſumpſi, ita produxi vitam, ut auxerim dolores, ſine ſpe ſalutis. Quare à vobis peto, primùm ut conſilium probetis meum; deinde, ne fruſtrà dehortando conemini.*

how, *ſaid he*, how much Care and Diligence I have employed to reſtore my Health, ſince I have you for my Witneſſes, there is no need to recount in many Words. Whom ſince I have ſatisfied, as I hope, and have left nothing undone that was proper *in the Judgment of the Doctors* to cure me, it remains that I provide for myſelf. I had no mind you ſhould be ignorant of it; for my *Reſolution* is fixed, to give over feeding the Diſtemper: For whatſoever Meat I have taken for ſome Days, I have ſo prolonged my Life, that I encreaſed my Pains, without any Hopes of Recovery. Wherefore I beg of you, in the firſt Place, that you would approve my Reſolution; if not, that then you would not labour in vain by diſſuading me.

CAP. XXII. Hâc oratione habitâ, tantâ conſtantiâ vocis atque vultûs, ut non ex vitâ, ſed ex domo in domum videretur migrare: cùm quidem Agrippa eum flens, atque oſculans, oraret, atque obſecraret, Ne id quod Natura cogeret, ipſe quoquè ſibi accelleraret: & quoniam tum quoquè poſſet temporibus ſupereſſe, ſe ſibi ſuiſque reſervaret: preces ejus

CHAP. XXII. *Having made this Speech, with ſuch a Steadineſs of Voice and Countenance, that he ſeemed not to be removing out of Life, but out of one Houſe into another; when Agrippa, weeping and kiſſing, begged and entreated him, That he would not haſten that which Nature would oblige him to *; and ſince he might live for ſome Time longer, that he would ſave himſelf for himſelf, and his*

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* I have tranſlated the Words *temporibus ſupereſſe* by "live ſome "Time longer;" becauſe it ſeems pretty plain by the Context, the Author intended to ſay ſome ſuch Thing; but I look upon the Reading to be faulty; for the Words will not bear that Senſe, nor in my Opinion any Senſe at all.

ejus taciturnâ suâ obstinatione depressit. Sic, cùm biduum cibo se abstinuisset, subitò febris decessit, levioresque morbus esse cœpit: tamen propositum nihilo seciùs peregit. Itaque die quinto postquam id consilium inierat, pridie Kal. April. Cn. Domitio, C. Sosio COSS. decessit. Elatus est in lecticulâ, ut ipse præscripserat, sine ullâ pompâ funeris, comitantibus omnibus bonis, maximâ vulgi frequentiâ. Sepultus est juxta viam Appiam, ad quintum lapidem, in monumento Q. Cæcilii avunculi sui.

*his Friends; he put a Stop to his Entreaties, by a silent Obstinacy. Thus, after he had abstained from* all *Food for two Days, on a sudden his Fever went off, and the Distemper began to be more easy; yet notwithstanding he executed his Purpose. Wherefore upon the fifth Day after he had entered upon that Resolution* *, *the Day before the Calends of April*, when *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sosius* were *Consuls*, *he died. He was carried* to his Funeral *upon a little Couch, as he himself had ordered, without any Pomp of Funeral, all good People attending him, with a great Crowd of the Populace. He was buried near the Appian Way* †, *at the fifth* Mile-*Stone, in the Monument of Q. Cæcilius his Uncle.*

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* The last of *March*, for the first Day of every Month was called the Calends.

† There was in all the great Roads from Rome, set up at every Mile's End, a Stone.

VERBA

# VERBA CORNELIÆ

## GRACCHORUM MATRIS,

## *Ex* CORNELII NEPOTIS *Libro Excerpta.*

DICIS, Pulchrum esse inimicos ulcisci: Id neque majus, neque pulchrius cuiquam atque mihi esse videtur: sed si liceat rep. salvâ eos persequi: sed quatenus id fieri non potest, multo tempore, multisque partibus, inimici nostri non peribunt, atque utì nunc sunt, erunt, potiùs quàm resp. profligetur atque pereat.

Verbis conceptis dejerare ausim, præterquam qui Tiberium Gracchum necárunt, neminem inimicum tantum molestiæ, tantumque laboris, quantum te ob has res mihi tradidisse; quem oportebat omnium eorum quos antehac habui liberos, partes eorum tolerare, atque curare, ut quam minimum solicitudinis in senectâ haberem, utique quæcumque ageres, ea velles maximè mihi placere, atque utì nefas haberes rerum majorum adversum meam sententiam quicquam facere; præsertim mihi, cui parva pars vitæ superest. Ne id quidem tam breve spatium potest opitulari, quin & mihi adverseris, & remp. profliges. Denique quæ pausa erit, & quando desinet familia nostra insanire? & quando modus ei rei haberi poterit? & quando desinemus & habentes, & præbentes, molestiis desistere? & quandó perpudescet miscenda atque perturbanda rep. Sed si omnino id fieri non potest, utì ego mortua ero, petito tribunatum, facito quod lubebit, cùm ego non sentiam: ubi mortua ero parentabis mihi, & invocabis Deûm parentem in eo tempore. Nec pudet te eorum Deûm preces expetere, quos vivos atque præsentes, relictos atque desertos habueris? Ne ille sinat Jupiter, te ea perseverare, nec tibi tantam dementiam venire in animo; &, si perseveras, vereor ne omnem vitam tantum laboris culpâ tuâ recipias, utì in nullo tempore tutè tibi placere possis.

*Ex I Chronicorum Libro.*

Homerus & Heſiodus vixerunt ante Romam conditam ann. circiter centum & quinquaginta. *Gellius, lib.* 17. *cap.* 21.

*Ex I. librorum de vitâ Ciceronis.*

M. Tullius Cicero tres & viginti annos natus, primum campum judicii publici egit, Sextumque Roſcium parricidii reum defendit. *Gellius, lib.* 25. *cap.* 28.

*Ex II. libro de viris Illuſtribus.*

*Cariſius, lib.* 2. *citat vocem* ſubinde. *Et ex* 15. *idem. lib.* 1. *citat illum modum dicendi*, Harum partium. *Et ex* 16. *illa verba*, A fratre patruele rem neceſſitudinis, ſed perſonam oſtendat.

*Ex incerto libro de viris Illuſtribus.*

Juſtè venuſtèque admodum reprehendiſſe dicitur A. Albinum M. Cato. Albinus, qui cum L. Lucullo conſul fuit, res Romanas oratione Græcâ ſcriptitavit: In ejus hiſtoriæ principio ſcriptum eſt ad hanc ſententiam: Neminem ſuccenſere ſibi convenire, ſi quid in his libris parum compoſitè, aut minùs eleganter ſcriptum foret. Nam ſum, inquit, homo Romanus, natus in Latio: Græca oratio à nobis alieniſſima eſt. Ideoque veniam, gratiamque malæ exiſtimationis, ſi quid eſſet erratum, poſtulavit. Ea cùm legiſſet M. Cato, Næ tu, inquit, Aule, nimiùm nugator es, cùm maluiſti culpam deprecari, quàm culpâ vacare. Nam petere veniam ſolemus, aut cùm imprudentes erravimus, aut cùm compulſi peccavimus. Tibi, inquit, oro te, quis perpulit, ut id committeres, quòd priuſquam faceres, peteres ut ignoſceretur? *Gellius, lib.* 11. *cap.* 8.

*Archilochus Tullo Hoſtilio Romæ regnante jam tunc fuit poëmatis clarus & nobilis.* Idem, *lib.* 17. *cap.* 21.

*Ex libris Exemplorum.*

A virgine Veſtali. *Hoc citat Cariſius, lib.* 1. *ex.* 2. *Exemplorum libro.*

Multis in ſenatu placuit, ut ii, qui redire nolent, datis cuſtodibus, ad Annibalem deducerentur, ſed ea ſententia numero plurium, quibus id non videbatur, ſuperata eſt; ii tamen, qui ad Annibalem non rediêrunt, uſque adeò inteſtabiles, inviſique fuerunt, ut tædium vitæ ceperunt, necemque ſibi conſciverint. *Gellius, lib.* 7. *cap.* 18. *ex.* 5. *Exemplorum libro.*

*Ex incerto libro.*

Ædes Martis eſt in circo Flaminio architectata ab Hermodoro Salaminio. *Priſcianus, lib.* 8.

Eudoxus

Eudoxus quidam meâ ætate, cum Lathyrem Regem fugeret, Arabico sinu egressus, Gades usque pervectus est *Plinius, lib.* 11. *cap.* 67.

Latitudinis ubi minimum, septem millia passuum ; ubi verò plurimum, decem millia. *Plinius, in Proœmia, lib.* 3.

Melpum, opulentiâ præcipuum, ab Insubribus, & Boiis, & Senonibus, deletum est eo die quo Camillus Veios cepit. *Idem Plinius, libri ejusdem, cap* 17.

Istro in Adriam effluenti è Danubio amne ex adverso Padi fauces, contrario eorum percussu, mari interjecto, dulcescente. *Plinius, libri ejusdem, cap.* 18.

Alpes in latitudinem C. M. *Idem, lib. ejusdem, cap.* 19.

Cerne insula abest ex adverso maximè Carthaginis à continente passus mille, non amplior circuitu duobus millibus. *Idem, lib.* 6. *cap.* 31.

Post accipitrem, præcipua auctoritas fuit lupo, & asellis. *Idem, lib.* 9. *cap.* 18.

Me juvene violacea purpura vigebat, cujus libra denariis C. veniebat, nec multò pòst rubra Tarentina. Huic succeſſit dibapha Tyria, quæ in libras denariis mille non poterat emi. Hâc P. Lentulus Spinther, Ædilis Curulis primus, in pretextâ usus, improbatur. Quâ purpurâ quis non jam triclinaria facit? *Idem, lib.* 19. *cap.* 19.

Turdi paulò ante Augusti principatum cœpti saginari. Ciconiæ magìs placent, quàm grues. *Idem, lib.* 10. *cap.* 23.

Magnitudo Loti arboris brevit. *Idem, lib.* 23. *cap.* 17.

Vinum exprimitur illi simile mulso, quod ultra denos dies non durat, baccæque contusæ cum alicâ ad cibos doliis conduntur. *Idem, Plinius, ibidem.*

Scandula contecta fuit Roma ad Pyrrhi usque bellum, annis quadringentis septuaginta. *Idem, lib.* 16. *cap.* 10.

Ante Syllæ victoriam duo tantum triclinia Romæ fuerunt argentea. *Idem, lib.* 33. *cap.* 11.

Cleophantus Corinthius secutus est in Italiam Demaratum Tarquinii Prisci Romani Regis patrem, fugientem à Corintho injurias Cypselli tyranni. *Idem, lib.* 35. *cap.* 3.

Primus Romæ parietes crustâ marmoris operuit totius domus suæ in Cœlio monte Mamurra. Formiis natus, eques Romanus, præfectus fabrorum C. Cæsaris in Galliâ. *Idem, lib.* 36. *cap.* 6.

Mamurra primus totis ædibus nullam nisi è marmore columnam habuit, omnes solidas è Carystio, aut Lunensi *Idem, Plinius, ibidem.*

Fuit magno miraculo, cum P. Lentulus Spinther amphoras ex onyche Chiorum magnitudine cadorum ostendisset ; post quinquennium deinde triginta duorum pedum longitude vidi. *Idem, libri ejusdem, cap.* 7.

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Alcibiades, 7. 1.
Alcmæon matricida, 15. 6.
Alere morbum, *fovere*, 25. 21. Nolo ali eorum luxuriam, *i. e. inſtrumenta ſuppeditari luxui*, 19. 1 ali publicè, *publicâ ſuſtentatione*, 3. 3.
Alexander M. Babylone moritur, 18. 2. 21. 2.
Alexander Pheræus, *Tyran.* 16. 5.
Alienum non videtur, *intempeſtivum*, ἄσκοπον, 1. 6. alienari timore ab aliquo, *favorum timore in odium mutare*, 7. 5. alienatæ inſulæ, *que defecerant*, 5. 2.
Altera perſona, *unus ex duobus, quibus reſpublica plurimùm debet; additur*, ſecunda tamen. *ut referatur ad ſuperiorem & primam*, 16. 4. altero tanto longior, 18. 8.
Ambitûs largitiones, *captatoriæ, conationes in ambiendis, per malas artes, honoribus; id enim* ambitus *voce notatur*, 25. 6.
Amici, *adjutores rerum gerendarum*, 18. 12.
Amicos tueri, *opibus officioque adeſſe eis*, 15. 3.
Amicitia, *pro ſocietate*, 15. 6.
Amittere animam, 15. 9. optimates, *eorum favorem*, 10. 7.
Ἀμνηστία, 8. 3.
Ammón. *cognom. Jovis*, 6. 3.
Anceps periculum, *utrinque hoſt.* 2. 3. ancipites loci, 14. 7.
Andocides, 7. 3.
Androcles Magneſ. 14. 5.
Anicia, 25. 2.
Anima, *pro vita*, 23. 1.
Animadvertere, *pro conſiderare*, 15. 16. *conſpicari*, 16. 5. animadverſa varietas fortunæ, *obſervata*, 13. 4.
Animatæ bene inſulæ, *in obſequio manentes, oppon.* alienatæ, 5. 2.
Animus, *pro fiduciâ conſtantiâque*, 1. 4. maximus, *pro fiducia ſui conſtantiâque*, 10. 5. animo iſto eſſe, *id conſilii habere*, 18. 11. animo bono facere, *propoſito non ſceleſto*, 17. 6. æquo ferre, *ſine indignatione*, 19. 6. *ſine obtractatione*, 25. 1.
Annus vertens, *totus, cujus ſcil. curſus natura vertitur eòdem unde incipit*, 17. 4.
Ante illum Imperatorem, *antequam ille eſſet Imperator*, 11. 1.
Anteferre bello pacem, *bellum deponere, pace mutare*, 15. 5. religionem iræ, *illius reſpectu huic frænos imponere*, 17. 4.
Antigonus in prælio cadit, 21. 3.
Antipater, 18. 2.
*Antiquitatis notitia in quibus*, 25. 18.
Antiſtare alicui, *præſtare*, 3. 1.
Antiſtitis Jovis, *Sacerdotes*, 6. 3.
Antonius hoſtis judicatus cedit Italiâ, 25. 9.

Apenninus mons, 23. 4.
Aperire, *oſtendere, declarare*, 10. 6. aperit ſe res ipſa, 4. 3. apertum eſt mihi, *ſcil.* 9. 5. apertum fuit, *apparuit re ipſâ*, 9. 2.
Apollo, 1. 1.
Apophthegmata Epaminondæ, 15. 5.
Apparare, *moliri*, 18. 2.
Apparatus, *de operibus πολιορκητικοῖς*, 18. 5. regius, *de cultu*, 4. 3.
Apparare alicui, *miniſtrare, pro honoratiore cultu*, 18. 13. apparere, *clarè cognoſci*, 14. 1.
Appellatus eſt, ut vellet, *compellatus, rogatus*, 25. 8.
Appetere majores res, *de incivili elatione*, 4. 2.
Appiâ viâ, 25. 22.
Apprimè bonus, 25. 13.
Apuliâ, 23. 4.
Aram tenent, *qui jurant*, 23. 2.
Aræ Paci factæ, 13. 2.
Arbitrium, *electio*, 9. 4. arbitrio alicujus rem permittere, *tractationem rei penitùs committere*, 22. 1. omnia geruntur, *de ſummo imperio*, 9. 2. arbitrio ejus fit, 3. 3.
Arcadia, 7. 10.
Archias, 16. 3.
Ardeatinum prædium, 25. 14.
Arete, 10. 1.
Argi, *pl. oppid.* 21. 2.
Argilius, 4. 4.
Arguere, *crimini dare*, 7. 7. argui crimine, *convinci*, 4. 3.
Arideus, 14. 6.
Ariobarzanes, 14. 2.
Ariſtides juſtus cognom. 2. 1.
Ariſtomache, 10. 1.
Arma pedeſtria, *quibus pedites, utuntur*, 11. 1. arma abjicere noluit Chabrias, *metu flagitii militaris*, 12. 4. arma capere, *armari in hoſtem*, 14. 4. conferre cum aliquo, *dimicare*, 18. 3. ferre contra aliquem, *eſſe in diverſis partibus*, 25. 4.
Armare aliquem, *ad arma inſtigare*. 23. 10. armare ſe imprudentiâ alterius, *ſuis conſiliis ab imprudentia alterius robur mutuari*, 13. 8.
Armatura levis, *hoc eſt, milites levis armaturæ*, 14. 8.
Armenii, *ibid.*
Armillæ aureæ, 14. 3.
Arripere celeriter quæ traduntur, *de ſolertiâ ingenii*, 25. 1.
Ars nova, *ſingulare quoddam, ad rem agendam εὕρημα*, 1. 5.
Artabanus Xerxem interficit, 21. 1.
Artemiſium, promontorium Eubœæ, 2. 3.
Artifices, quos cultus domeſticus deſiderat, 25. 13. *ad voluptatem & lucrum locata eorum opera; ſunt autem ejuſmodi ſervorum nomina*, Gladiatores, Agitatores, Funambuli, Palæſtritæ, Pictores, *&c.*
Accendere gradum eum, *ad eum honorem*, 19. 2.
Adſciſcere civitatem, *jus civitatis, civem fieri*, 25. 3.
Aſia, 1. 3. ſuccubuit Europæ, hoc eſt, *Aſiatica vis (Perſarum) Europeis Græcorum) viribus ſuccubuit*, 2. 5.
Aſpendii, 14. 8.
Aſpis, *Cataoniæ dynaſtes*, 14. 4.
Aſſecla Prætoris, *de legato ejus*, 25. 6.
Aſtu, *vel* Aſti, Græcum ἄστυ, *urbs, oppidum*; *de Athenis peculiariter*, 2. 4.
Athamanes, 13. 2.
Athenæ civitas clariſſima, 8. 2. Lacedæmoniis ſerviunt, 7. 9.
Attendere animum ad cavendum, 7. 5.
Atticus, *T. Pomponius*, 25. 1.
Attingere poëticen, *aliquid operæ in illo ſtudio ponere*, 25. 18. regionem, *eò pervenire*, 10. 5.
Auctoritas eſt in illo, 13. 3. ejus eſt in hoc magna, *ipſius auctoritati magnopere creditur*, 6. 4.

auctoritate alicujus moveri, *scil. ad habendam fidem*, 9. 4.
Audiens dicto duci, 11. 2.
Aversus, *corpore verso*, 14. 11.
Avertere puppes, *de recedentibus*, 23. 11.
Augeri, agro urbibus augeri, *donari locupletari*, 13. 1.
Aurelius, *C. Coss.* 23. 7.
Αὐτομάτια *Deæ nomen*. 20. 4.
Autophradates, Lydiæ Satrapes, 14. 2.

B.

BAbylon, 18. 2.
Bageus, 1, 10.
Balbus, *L. Cornelius*, 25, 31.
Barcus cognom. Hamilcaris, 22. 1.
Beatus, homo non beatissimus, *non admodum instructus copiis rei familiaris*, 17. 18.
Bellum Ægyptium, 14. 3. Civile Cæsarianum, 25. 7. Corcyræum, 2. 2. Corinthium, 17. 5. Peloponnesiacum, 7. 3. 8. 1. Persicum, 2. 2. Punicum I. 22. 1. II. 22. 4. III. 24. 3. Sociale, 11. 3. Troïcum, 14. 2. Hannibalis bella quis scripserit, 25. 13. intestinum, 22. 2. navale, 2. 2. delere, *eleganter de subito & insperato sine impositio hostibus impetu oppressis*, 7. 8. ducere *per moram gerere*, ibid. facere alicui, *inferre*, 10. 4. parare alicui, *comparare adversus*, 7. 9.
Bene meriti, *qui nobis beneficia contulêre*, 18. 6.
Benevolentia, *pro pignoribus & documentis benev.* 7. 6.
Benignitas, *de præstito auxilio*, 20. 2.
Bithynii, 23. 11.
Bœotii Bellum indicunt Lacedæmoniis, 9. 2.
Bonus civis, *significanter de eo qui habitus statusque civilis amans, officiis civilibus servit*, 11. 3. Cognomen *in virtutis honorem*, 19. 1. bono animo facere, *consilio non scelesto*, 17. 6.
Bonitas, *pro æquitate civilis imperii*, 1. 8.
Borni, *castelli nomen*, 7. 7.
Brutus potens, 25. 8. interit, 25. 11.
Byzantium expugnatum, 4. 2.

C.

CAdere, *de morte bellicâ propriè*, 4. 1. cadit majestas, *evertitur imperium*, 16. 2. res cadit præter opinionem, *h. e. evenit*, 1. 2. cadere in suspicionem cujus, *suspectum fieri*, 4. 2.
Cadmea, *arx Thebana*, 15. 10.
Caduceus, κηρύκειον, 23, 11.
Cadusii, *inter mare Caspium & Pontum sita gens*, 14. 1.
Cæcilius, Q. eques Romanus, 25. 5.
Cælo vesperascente, 16. 2.
Cæremonia summa colitur hoc sacrarium, *sanctitas religione inviolabilis notatur*, 2. 8.
Cæsar *(Julius)* occisus, 25. 8.
Cæsar *(Octavius)* 25. 12.
Cæsarianum Civile bellum, *inter Cæsarem & Pompeium*, 25. 7.
Calidius, *L. Julius Poëta*, 25. 12.
Callias, 5. 1.
Callicrates, 10 8.
Callidus vir, *qui consilio pollet*, 14. 10. callida liberalitas, *quæ non honesti studio, sed tempori datur, & utilitati*, 25 11. callidissimè conjicere de futuris, *perspicacissimè, & providentissimè*, 2. 1.
Calliphron, saltator, 15. 2.
Callistratus, 15. 6.
Camissares, 14. 1.
Canere, *vox propria de Oraculis, vatibus, poëtis*, 25. 16.
Canius, 25. 10.
Cannensis pugna, *apud Cannas, pugnata*, 23, 5.

Capere,

Capere arma, *ad pugnam inſtruere ſe armis*, 14. 4.
Capere locum, *occupare*, 17. 6. capi, humanitate alicujus, *affici, delectari*, 25. 4.
Capeſſere remp. *Cic. accedere ad remp. de gerendis Magiſtratibus*, 2. 2.
Caput Græciæ, *urbs domina*, imperans *cæteris*, 15. 10. capitis abſolvi, *de reo capitis, cui vita conceditur*, 1. 7.
Capitulatim, *ſummatim perſtricta*, 24. 2.
Cappadocia Eumeni data, 18. 2.
Captiani, *Schot. legend. conjicit* Caſpiani. 14. 8.
Capua, 23, 5.
Cardianus, *ab urbe Cardiâ*, 18. 1.
Car, 14. 1.
Caria, 27, 3.
Caſſander, 18. 13. Macedonia pellitur, 19. 3.
Caſſius floret, 25. 8. interit, 25. 11.
Caſtrum, *munitus muro locus*, 7. 9. *ejus diminut.* Caſtellum, caſtellum Hannibalis, 23. 12.
Caſtra movere, 14. 8. Caſtra alicujus ſequi, *militare apud aliquem*, 24. 1.
Caſus, *acerba fortuna*, 7. 6. caſibus agi, *varietate, ſcil. temporum eventuumque*, 29. 5.
Cataonia, 14. 4.
Cato, 17. annor. ſtipendium meruit, 24. 1.
Catullus, *poëta elegantiſſ.* 25. 12.
Cauſa, Cauſam capitis dicere, *in judicio capitali pro ſe verba facere*, 11. 14. cauſam interponere, *cauſari, prætextu uti*, 2. 7.
Cedere, *præbere ſe neceſſitati, non reluctari*, 3. 1. authoritati alicujus, *propter authoritatem*, 13. 3.
Celebritas, *frequentia*, præf.
Cenſorinus, 24. 1.
Centenius prætor cadit. 23. 4.
Ç raunus, *cognom.* Ptolemæi, 21. 3.
Certamen de principatu, *æmulatio*, 2. 6.
Certa dies, *præſtituta*, 12. 3.
Chabrias Athen. 12. 3.
Chalciœcus, *Templum Minervæ, Lacædem. q. d.* Domus ænea, *aliquando in cognomen Deæ tranſit*, 4. 5.
Chalcis, *urbs Eubœæ*, 13. 3.
Chaones *pars Epirotarum*, 12. 3.
Chares Athenis honoratus, *ibid.*
Charon, *Theb.* 16. 2.
Cherſoneſus, *ſcil. Thraciæ peninſula*, 1. 1.
Chius, *inſula*, 12. 4.
Cicero, *M. Tullius*, æqualis Attici, 25. 1.
Cilices, 14. 8.
Cilicia, 14. 7.
Cimon, 5. 1.
Cinnanus tumultus, 25. 2.
Circulus, *cœtus vulgò coeuntium ac fabulantium, qui, collatis capitibus, videntur veluti orbem facere*, 15. 3.
Citari victorem, *voce præconis declari*, præf.
Citerior Hiſpania, *Tarraconenſis provincia*, 24. 2.
Citharizare, *canere cithara*, 15. 2.
Citium, *oppid.* 5. 3,
Civilis victoria omnis funeſta, 15. 10. civiles fluctus, *de bellis civil.* 15. 6.
Civitas aliena, *de eo uſurp. qui alienigena*, 18. 1.
Clandeſtina conſilia, *occulta molitio*, 23. 2.
Claritas, *celebritas*, 18. 3.
Claſſiarii, *milites claſſ.* 1. 7.
Claſtidium, *oppid.* 23. 4.
Clava, *in venatorio habitu ponitur*, 14. 3.
Claudere hoſtiis anguſtiis, 14. 8.
Claudius, *M. Coſ.* 23. 7.
Clementiam violare, *facere quod clementiæ officio ſit indignum*, 7. 10.
Cleon. Halicarnaſſeus, 6. 3.
Cnidus, *Inſ.* 9. 4.

Coarguere tyrannidem cujus, *eum exprobratione tyrannidis convincere*, 15. 6.
Coërcere manibus procacitatem alicujus, *punire pariter ac inhibere*, 20. 4.
Cogitare callidè, *de agitatione animi*. 14. 8.
Coïre, *conspirare*, 16. 2.
Colere facellum, *de cultu religioso, in facello fieri solito*, 20. 4. coli literis aliquo, *de commercio epistolarum familiarium*, 25. 20.
Collabeferi ab aliquo, *eleganti metaph. significe. dignitate veluti suâ pelli*, 3. 1.
Collegæ, *sc. gerend. bell. in imperio militari*. 7. 3.
Colligere manum, *copias*, 7. 7.
Collis Quirinalis, 25. 13.
Colloqui per internuncios, 7. 5.
Commeatus, *annonæ subvectio*, 1. 7.
Commendare alicui regnum, *designare successorem*, 18. 2.
Cominus pugnare, 12. 4.
Commoda, Adversus commoda populi stetisse, *pro crimine majestatis*, 19. 4.
Commoditatem consequi, *emolumentum*, 25. 9.
Commovere se non sunt ausi, *de nefariâ molitione*, 17. 6. commoveri, *exercitari ad rem accuratiùs agendam*, 14. 7. commoveri novare *perturbare*, 14. 6.
Commutatio *rerum, fortunæ statusque imperii ac belli*. 7. 5.
Comparare iter ad regem, *de destinatione itineris*, 7. 10. milites ad resistendum, *instruere*, 14. 4.
Compellare aliquem fratricidam, *increpare*, 20. 1.
Completa sunt tot millia, *h. e. effecta*, 1. 5.
Componere bellum, *pacem facere*, 22. 1.
Compositio, *de compacto*, 14. 6.
Comprimere preces, *inhibere*, 25. 22.
Conari, *ipsum actum notat, non rem effectui dare*, 14. 7.
Conata perficere, *destinata*, 10. 8.
Conciliator nuptiarum, *pararius*, προξενητὴς, 25. 12.
Concinnus, 15. 5.
Concio populi, *de judicio publico*, 2. 2.
Concludere uno volumine, *complecti*, 15. 4.
Concupiscere majora, *de molitionibus elatorum, qui suâ conditione non contenti, ambitiosè res novas quærunt*, 4. 1.
Concurrere ad opprimendum *certatim operam conferre*, 18. 3. in navem regis, *velut agmine facto adoriri*, 25. 10.
Concursus, *de conflictu præl.* 11. 1. concursus *studio spectandi*, 14. 3.
Concutere opes alicujus, *labefactare potentiam*, 15. 6.
Condiscipulatus, 25. 5.
Conditio æqua versuræ, *copia, æqua facultas*, 25. 2.
Conductitiæ caterve, *de mercenariis militibus, qui domestico opponuntur delectui*, 12. 1.
Conferre factâ clar. virorum, *comparare*, 23. 3.
Conficere aliquem, *debellare*, 6. 1.
Confidere, *plus quàm sperare*, 1. 1.
Confirmare quid, *fidem rei facere*, 14. 11. confirmare regnum, *stabilire*, 1. 3.
Congruere sententiæ Deorum, *ad illam accommodari*, 6. 3.
Conjicere, *divinare de futuris*, 2. 1. conjicere se in sacrarium, *illùc confugere, securitatis gratiâ*, 2. 8.
Conon egregius mari bellator, 9. 1.
Conscripti patres, 23. 12. *de Senatu Romano usurpatur, qui tanquam solenni titulo ita compellari solebat.*
Consectari, *cum studio & labore prosequendo conquirere*, 2. 4.
Consentire, *conspirare*, 14. 5. globus consensionis, *conspirantium*, 25. 8.
Consequi aliquid, *perficere*, 24. 10. consequuta

consequuta est eum magna prosperitas, *h. e. magnum adeptus prosperitatem*, 25. 19.
Conservare simulacra, aras, *honorem earum, & jus tuendi supplices non imminuere*, 17. 4.
Consilii mei non est, *h. e. judicii & arbitrii in eligendo*, 9. 4. in consilium dari, *de adjutoribus datis*, 13. 3.
Consistere, *de acie instructâ*, 11. 2.
Constituere urbem, *desertam eversamque de integro condere, incolis & rep. formare*, 15. 1.
Constituere quantùm quisque daret *de arbitrio, judicio, consilio*, 3 3.
Consuevit hoc sanctum esse apud, *consuetudine quâdam religio rei apud omnes servata est*, 16. 5.
Consuetudo regum, *ingenium*, 14. 5.
Consulere malè patriæ, *utilitates ejus negligere*, 15. 10. *noxam afferre*, 19. 2. consultum mittere, *sc. ad Apollinem*, 2. 2.
Consul quinquies, *sol. quintum*, 23. 5.
Consumere tot menses in morbo, *tam diu ægrotare*, 25. 21. consumi morbo, *interire*, 21. 2.
Contendere, *affirmare*, 15. 8. quò contenderat, *h. e. quo cursum direxerat*, 13. 3.
Contineri hospitio alicujus, *esse inter eos, qui fœdere hospitii cum aliquo sunt conjuncti*, 6. 1.
Continens, *opponitur aquis*, 1. 6. ἐγκρατὴς, 15. 3.
Contrahere classem, *comparare*, 9. 4.
Convenit hoc inter illos, *pacti sunt de hoc*, 4. 4.
Convivæ, *quales vocandi*, 25. 14. convivio uxores Romani adhibebant, Græci non item, *præf.*
Corcyræum bellum, 2. 2.
Corinthus à Tyranno liberata, 20. 1.
Cornelius, *L. Cos.* 23. 8.
Coronâ aureâ Romanis à Carthag. legatis donatur, 23. 3.
Coronæa, *urbs Bœotiæ*, 17. 4.
Corripere partes omnium, *omnium potentiam ad se trahere*, 18. 2.
Corrumpere Delphos, *sacerdotes Oraculi Delphici*, 6. 3.
Cotta, *L. Cos.* 25. 4.
Cotus Rex Thraciæ, 11. 3.
Craterus, 18. 2.
Crimessus, *fluv.* 20. 2.
Culleus, *saccus inter vasa militaria, trajiciendo amni*, 18. 8.
Cultus domesticus, *usus familiaris*, 15. 13.
Cupiditas, *vehementior impetus animi cupientis*, 18. 6. cupidè elaboro, *vehementer studeo*, 13. 1.
Curare præceptum, *efficere*, 18. 8.
Cyclades insulæ, 1. 2.
Cyme, 7. 7.
Cyprii, 5. 2.
Cyprus, *Ins.* 4. 2.
Cyrenæ, *urbs Lybiæ*. 17. 8.
Cyrus, 7. 9.
Cyzicum, 13. 1.

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DAmnari hoc timore, *ob eum populi timorem*, 2. 8.
Damon, *musicus*, 15. 2.
Dare fidem, *jurare*, 23. 1. fidem de re, *super re*, 14. 10. manus, *victum se confiteri*, 22. 1. operam honoribus, *capessere honores*, 24. 1. vela ventis, *de navibus in altum provectis*, 23. 8. veniam, *annuere postulatis*, 2. 10. crimini, *arguere*, 15. 8. se, *in gratiam alicujus facere*, 25. 9. soporem, *pro medicamento soporifero*, 10. 2.
Darius, Pers. R. contra Scythas 1. 3. Ochus, 7. 5. Hystaspis filius, 21. 1.
Datames, 14. 1.
Datis, 1. 4.
Dea Pax, 13. 2.
Debitum naturæ reddere, *mori*, 21. 1.
Decedere, *mori*, 3. 3. decedere morte

morte ex conſpectu hominem, *de morte voluntariâ*, 20. 1.
Deçelia, *oppid.* 7. 4.
Decernere cum aliquo, *dimicare*, *confligere*, 23. 4. decernere alicui ſtatuas, *decreto publico conferre*, 1. 6.
Declarare, *documentum dare*, 11. 3.
Decurrere in ſpatio, *ac equis exerceri curſu ſolitis*, 18. 5.
Deducere ſecum aliquem, *ſibi adſciſſere comitem*, 25. 4. deducere aliquem à victu priſtino, *demovere*, *abſtrahere*, 10. 4.
Deeſſe alicui, *in judicio non defendere*, 13. 4. nullus honor huic defuit, *circumlocutio honoratiſſimi*, 20. 3.
Deferre Senatui, *exponere*, *referre*, 23. 12.
Degredi à ſuis, *longiùs provehi*, 16. 5.
Delectus novi, *de militibus recens lectis*, 23. 6.
Deleri, *dicuntur hoſtes penitùs fugati*, 4. 1.
Deliberare, *oraculum conſulere*, 2. 2.
Delphi, *urbs*, 1. 1. *pro Oraculo Delphico*, 6. 3. Delphicus Deus, *Apollo*, 4. 5.
Delus, *Inſ.* commune Græciæ ærarium, 3. 3.
Demades Athenas tradi cupit Antipatro, 19. 2.
Demænetus, *petulans homo*, 20. 4.
Demergere, *de fortunâ deprimente*, 10. 6.
Demetrius, *Antig. Fil.* perit in cuſtodiâ, 21. 3. Phalereus, 1. 6.
Deprecari pericula amicorum, *ne illos affligant*, 15. 12.
Deprimere naves, *demergere*, 9. 4.
Depugnare, *prælium committere*, 2. 4.
Dercyllus, *Antipatri præfectus*, 19. 2.
Deſperatis rebus provinciarum, *cum aliiſi eſſent provinciis*, 25. 8.
Deſtitui ab aliquo, *de rejectis precibus*, *negatoque auxilio*, 7. 5.
Deterior peditatu, *inferior*, 11. 3.
Deteſtans compellabat impium, *deteſtabatur & vocabat imp.* 20. 1.
Detrahere de aliquo, *de invidioſâ & obtrectatoriâ depreſſione*, 12. 3.
Detrahere aliquid mulctæ, *minuere mulctum*, 13. 4.
Devia itinera, *occulta & inſueta*, 18. 3.
Devincere virtutem alicujus, *deprimere*, *inutilem reddere*, 23. 1.
Devocare, 5. 4. *eſt vocare ad cœnam.*
Devovere aliquem, *de publico devotionis ritu*, 7. 4.
Dextra, *fidei pignus*, 2. 8.
Dianæ templum, *apud Gortynios*, 23. 9.
Dicere cauſam capitis, *in judicio capitali pro ſe reſpondere & verba facere*, 7. 4. dicere pro ſe, *ſc. in judicio*, 1. 7. dicendo valere, *hæc vox propriè eloquentiam notat & artem*, 7. 1.
Dictator Fabius, 23. 5. *quia dicendo creabatur.* Dictator, *ſumma poteſtas*, *& à regno non niſi tempore differens.*
Dictum, dicto audiens alicui, *obediendi ſignif.* 6. 1.
Dies ſupremus, *mors*, 7. 10. dies induciarum. *ſcil. ultimus*, 17. 3. in diem emere, *ut ſolvas poſt aliquod tempus*, 25. 9.
Differre in craſtinum, *rejicere*, 16. 3.
Differtur rumor, *diſpergitur*, 10. 10.
Dignus memoriâ, *celebrari dignus ad poſteros*, 13. 4.
Dignitas Regia, *non authoritatem modò ſed & poteſtatem regiam notat*, 1. 2. dignitas equeſtris, *ex ordine & nobilitate equitum*, 25. 1. dignitati ſervire, *conſulere exiſtimationi & honori ſuo*, 25. 6. dignitas corporis, *auguſta corporis*

*corporis forma*, 10. 1. dignitas vitæ *cum splendore jungitur*, 7. 11. pro dignitate vivere, 25. 2. *intelligitur hic dignitas vitæ exactæ, quæ scil. virum bonum decet.*
Diligere affinitatem alicujus, *eligere*, 25. 22.
Dimicare adversus aliquem, *resistere, in aciem exire, adverſ.* 1. 4. dimicare de famâ, *de causâ in judicio disceptand.* 13. 4.
Dimittere imperium, *deponere*, 20. 2. vitam, *amittere, negligere*, 23. 12. dimisit eum nusquam ab se, *retinuit in convictu assiduo.*
Dinon historicus, 9. 5.
Dion Syracusanus describitur, 10. 1.
Discedere pari prælio, *ut neuter vicerit, æquis manibus abscedere*, 2. 3. discedere à pugnâ, *re infectâ abire*, 1. 7.
Disjicere copias alicujus, *dissipare*, 1. 2.
Dispalata multitudo, *palabundi & dispersa passim, vagantesque*, 23 5.
Dispositi, *scil. milites in acie stantes*, 11. 2.
Disputare de rep. *differere*, 15. 3.
Dissociati civium animi, *de civili discordiâ*, 25. 2.
Dissolutus, *sign. neglectum legis, boni moris existimationisque*, 7. 1.
Distineri litibus, *vexari ac distrahi*, 25. 2.
Distrahi, *divelli de pugnantibus & inter se complexis*, 18. 4.
Diversi decedunt, *in diversas partes*, 14. 11.
Dividere copias hiematum, *in hiberna dispartiri*, 18. 8.
Divinus, *qui eâ parte prudentiæ, quæ* divinatio, *sive* providentia *dicitur valet*, 25. 9.
Divitiæ orbis terrarem, *ὑπερβολικαὶ, de summo fretio*, 15 4.
Dium. sub dio, *aëre*, 4. 5.
Docere, *exponere, narrare*, 1. 6.
Dodona, *pro Oraculo Dodonæ, sive potius sacerdotibus Oraculi*, 6. 3.
Dodrans, ex dodrante hæres, *novem partes hæreditatis intellige:* dodrans *sunt novem partes assis, sc. totius hæreditatis*, 25. 5.
Dolopes sacrum obtinent, 5. 2.
Dolor desiderii, *ex desiderio conceptus*, 25. 4.
Domicilium, *sedes*, 17. 3. domicilium imperii orbis terrarum, *Urbs Roma*, 25. 3.
Domitius, *Cn. Cos.* 25. 22.
Drusilla, *T. Claudii Neronis uxor juxta*, 25. 19.
Dubito an ponam, *eleganter*, pro dubito an non ponam, 8. 1. non dubitavit committere prælium, *de fiduciâ & conandi promptitudine*, 23, 11.
Ducere aliquem in errorem, *falsâ opinione eludere*, 23. 9. ducere secum, *de contubernio*, 22. 3. ducere *existimare, credere*, 7. 7. ducere bellum, *morâ protahere*, 7. 8. ducere tempus, *cunctari*, 2. 7.
Duci adversus aliquem, *significat, militari*, 18. 3. ducere amore, *impelli*, 5. 1.
Ductu ejus res gestæ, 4. 1. *Differt ab auspiciis: quòd* hæc *ad summum fati & fortunæ*; illa *formula ad operam ac administrationem belli pertinet. Interdum conjunguntur.*
Dux manus, *qui parti copiarum præest.* 16. 4.
Dynastes Paphlagoniæ, 14. 2.

## E.

Edere in vulgus, *vulgò rumorem spargere*, 14. 6.
Editus locus, *altior*, 17. 6.
Efferre laudibus, *extollere*, 7. 11. efferre matrem, *propria vox de sepulchris*, 25. 17. efferri victoria, *insolescere*, 4. 1.

Efflare animam, *mori*, 4. 5.
Effusæ largitiones, *immodicæ*, 25. 6.
Elatiùs se gerere, *insolentiùs*, 4. 2.
Elicere epistolas alicujus, *occasione suppeditatâ referibendi, scil.* 25. 20.
Elis, *Argiv. oppid.* 7. 4.
Eloquentia antestat innocentiæ, *superat eam*, 3. 1.
Elpinice Cimonis soror, 5. 1.
Elucescere virtutibus, *inclarescere*, 4. 1. elucet ex his illud, *illud potissimum, & ad gloriam illustre est*, 12. 1. eluxit eloquentia ejus, *illustri argumento cognita est*, 15. 6.
Emax, *qui emendi studio ducitur*, 25. 13.
Emittere exercitum in Asiam, *bellatum mittere*, 17. 2.
Emphyletus, 19. 14.
Ennius, *Q. Poëta*, 24. 1.
Enumerare, *per seriem narrare*, 6. 2.
Enunciare, *revelare rem secretam*, 4. 4.
Epaminondas Theban. 15. 1.
Ephebus factus est, *ad pubertatem, venit.* 15. 2.
Ephemeris, 25, 13 diurnam, *Latini vocant. Significat hic libellum quotidianarum expensarum & erogationum. Aliud significat* diurni commentarii, *apud Suet. Aug.* 6. 4.
Ephesus, 17. 3.
Ephori Lacedæmoniorum, 2. 7.
Epigramma, *inscriptio, titulus, elogium, qualia donis adduntur, quæ Diis sacrabant*, 4. 1.
Epiroticæ possessiones, *quas habet aliquis in Epiro*, 25. 14.
Eretria capta, 1. 4.
Erga, *adversus, in*, 14. 10.
Erexit eum hæc contumelia, *h. e. ad industriam & emendationem excitavit*, 2. 1.
Erichthon, *ignotus locus, fatentibus* Lambin. & Schott. *qui ex codicib. annot.* Crithonem. 13. 1.
Eryx, *mons Siciliæ*, 21. 1.
Esse alicubi, *degere*, 23, 12. cùm jam in eo esset, ut, *h. e. cùm jam parum abesset*, 1. 7.
Esse civitatis alienæ, *de alicunde orto*, 18. 1. esse partium optimatum, *sequi partes opt.* 25. 6. esse pluris, *plus efficere, præstare publico*, 15. 19. non est tuæ virtutis, *non convenit*, 22. 1. esse calamitati, *inferre calamitatem*, 14. 6. indicio, *præbere indicium, indicare*, 6. 3. invidiæ, *parere invidiam*, 10. 4. malo, *nocere alicui*, 7. 7. usui *multum prodesse operâ consilioque*, 9. 2. pari imperio *de belli ducibus*, 14. 3. hoc sensu, *ingenio*, 7. 5. ante oculos civium, *versari*, 12. 3. cum aliquo. *de victu*, 22. 3. esse in animis debet, *observari animis*, 8. 2. in colloquio *colloqui*, 14. 11. in fugâ, *fugam meditari, adornare*, 2. 4. in obsidione, *obsideri*, 18. 5.
Etruria, 23. 4.
Evagoras, 12. 2.
Eubœa, 1. 4.
Evitare tempestatem, *de fuga periculi*, 7. 4.
Eumenes Cardianus, 18. 1.
Eumolpidæ, 7. 4.
Europæi adversarii, *ab Europa hostes*, 18. 3.
Eurybiades rex Lacedem. 2. 4.
Euridice mater Perdiccæ & Philippi. 11. 3.
Eurysthenes, rex Spartan. 17. 1.
Exacui irâ, *irritari, exasperari*, 19. 4.
Exanimari, *de moriente*, 15. 9.
Excedere pugnâ, *desistere*, ibid.
Excipere hostium impetum, *hosti incurrenti se objicere*, 12. 1. excipere has partes, *in se suscipere negotium*, 10. 8.
Excitare aliquem adversus aliquem, *instigare*, 23. 10.

Excurſiones, *quæ prædæ ab hoſte agendæ cauſâ fiunt*, 1. 2.
Exercentur equi ſtantes, *agitationis ſcil novo genere, & loco ambulationis curſuſque equeſtris uſurpato*, 18. 5.
Exercitatus bello, 15. 5. in dicendo, *ibid. prompta facultas utrobique notatur.*
Exercitus victor, *victoriis clarus & formidabilis*, 17. 4.
Exhauſtus, *cui pecunia deeſt, & inſtrumenta belli cætera*, 7. 8.
Exiguus. *brevis ſtaturæ*, 17. 8.
Exiles res, *tenues, calamitoſæ, de difficultatibus à fortunâ adverſante objectis*, 18. 5.
Exire, *proficiſci domo*, 2. 6. *in hoſtem, in bellum*, 17. 6. exit fama, *emanat*, 17. 2.
Exitus, *finis vitæ*, 18. 3. ædificii, *de foribus*, 23. 12.
Expedire rem *de ancipiti negotio*, 18. 9. expedire ſe, *de eo qui circumventus erat*, 18. 5. expedire aliquem, *proſcriptorum numero eximere*, 25. 12. expedita ad dimicandum manus, *intelligo facultatem dimicandi non impeditam aut loco præciſam*, 14. 3.
Expenſum ſumptui ferre, *rationes eorum referre, quæ erogamus & expendimus*, 25. 13.
Explicari non potuit multitudo, *in acie ſcil. propter locorum anguſtias*, 2. 4.
Exponere, *de ſcription. hiſt.* 10. 3. aliquem è nave, *verbum nauticum*, 2. 8.
Expoſcere aliquem, *petere ut dedatur*, 23. 7.
Externum malum, *de bello externo*, 22. 2.
Extinguere liberos, *è medio tollere*, 15. 9. aliquos, *ſcil. expugnando perdere*, 17. 5. contumeliam induſtriâ, *veluti redimere, aut memoriam contumeliæ delere*, 2. 1.
Extremo bello, *pro fine belli*, 9. 1.
Extructa ſatis altitudo muri, *educta*, 2. 6.
Exilium 10 annorum, *pœna Oſtraciſmi legibus definita*, 5. 3.

F.

FAbius, Q. Maximus dictator, Hannibali oppoſitus, 23. 5.
Facere audet quod cogitavit, *rem deliberatam efficere*, 14. 7. faciebat, ut numerarent, *curabat numerari*, 15. 3. bona *beneficiis præſtitis, aut facere quod utile eſt alteri*, 2. 9. cædam alicujus, *perpetrare*, 8. 3. caſtra, *ponere*, 1. 5. aliquem certiorem, *docere*, 14. 11. civem, *adſciſcere*, 25. 3. impetum in aliquem, *adoriri*, 14. 9. inſidias, *ſtruere*, 7. 9. magnam multitudinem, *colligere exercitum*, 23. 10. ſummam, *ſcil. pecuniæ*, 15. 3. mentionem, *in ſermone*. 7. 5. pecunia ex metallis, *reditus fodinarum metallicarum intellig.* 5. 1. aliquem miſſum, *demittere ex captivitate*, 18. 11. poteſtatem ſui, *ſc. ad pugnam*, 17. 3 progreſſum in ſtudiis, *proficere*, 24. 2. reum, *accuſare*, verba, *cationem habere*, 2. 10. facere aliquid pulchrè poſſe, *de operâ promptè obeundâ*. 25. 13. aliquem pluris, *æſtimandi ſignificatione* 11. 3. facere lucri aliquid, *de gloriâ captâ, quæ alteri debebatur*, 8. 1. facere naufragium, *de clade navali*, 2. 7.
Face, *pro fac*, 4. 2.
Fio, fit cædes civium, *cæduntur*, 15. 10. ſumptus in claſſem, *impenditur*, 1. 7. fieri pluris *æſtimari*, 14. 5. quid his fieri velit, *de his*, 17. 4.
Factum eſt æquitate ejus, ut *effectum impetratum, res eò deducta*, 3. 2.

eo facto, *per id, hâc ratione*, 15. 5. quo facto, *quâ causâ, qua ex re*, 14. 3.
Factio adversaria, *pro viris, adversus facti ἀντιτασσόμενοι*, 16. 1. sine factione amicis officia præstanda, *intelligitur, officia amicitiæ non extendi ad societatem, rer. nov. factionem*, 25. 18.
Facultas ita vivendi non datur, *copia, potestas, occasio*, 25. 2. facultates ingenii, *opes*, 15. 1.
Falernus ager, 25. 5.
Fallere verbo, *falsi tituli specie*, 15. 5. fefellit eum hæc res, *contra opinionem cecidit*, 10. 3.
Fastigio pari stare in utrâque fortunâ, *par cultus ac modus vitæ intelligitur*, 25. 14.
Fautrix, *de naturâ propitiâ*, 17. 8.
Ferocior, *bellicosior*, 2. 2. ferociùs, loqui, *elatiùs*, 18. 11. ferocia, *animosa elatio*, 22. 1.
Ferre calamitatem moderatè, *tolerare, sustinere*, 24. 4. æquo animo ferre, *sine invidia, & æmulatione*, 25. 1. ferre expensum sumptui, *expensos sumptus in commentarium referre*, 25. 13. si tulisset ita fortuna, *si ita accidisset*, 18. 6. ferre suffragium, *sententiam per calculos*, 15. 8. ferri magno odio in aliquem, *de studio animi, contentione, affectu*, 25. 10.
Ferrum, *pro gladio*, 14. 11. *pro spiculo, quod hastili præfixum est*, 15. 9.
Festum habere hunc diem, *solennis instituta festi-vitas intelligitur*, 20. 4.
Fidere pecuniâ, *spem confidendi inde sumere*, 6. 3. victoria, *fiduciam victoriæ habere tanquam certæ*, 12. 1.
Fidenti animo, *ex successu animositas intell.* 22. 3.
Fides vix facta est, *vix persuasit ut crederent*, 17. 8. fidei alicujus aliquid credere, *committere alicuquid tanquam homini bonâ fide, aut bonâ fide servandum*, 23. 9. dare, accipere fidem, *polliceri, & vicissim alterius pollicitis credere*, 14. 20.
Fiducia nimia magnæ calamitati solet esse, *intell. securitas ex confidentiâ*, 16. 3. fiduciam habere rei potiundæ, *spes certa & plusquam spes*, 17. 4.
Figura venusta, *de totius corporis habitu congruo*, 18. 11.
Filius à patre acceptam gloriam auxit, 13. 1. ejus recens gloria veterem patris renovat, 13. 2. *filio regnum à vivo patre non tradendum*, 21. 3.
Fingere fortunam sibi, *conciliare*, 25. 11. fingere se, *effingere suos mores in rectitudinem officiorum vitæ*, ibid.
Firmæ copiæ, *respectu peritiæ bellandi indurata bello manus*, 18. 3. firmæ vires ad laborem ferendum, *de eo qui invictus laboris & operis*, 18. 11.
Firmissimi amici, *conjunctissimi*, 6. 2.
Flaccus, *L. Valerius*, 24. 1.
Flagitium, *de armis relictis*, 22. 1. *ac dedecore*, ibid.
Flaminius, *C. Cos.* occiditur, 23. 4.
Flaminius, *L. Quintus, Cos.* 23. 12.
Flectere suum iter, *de aliâ viâ tentandâ*, 18. 9.
Florere, *de potentiâ & excellentiâ imperii*, 18. 1. rebus quibusdam, *gestorum gloria*, 5. 3. florens, *adhuc vivens, superstes*, 25. 11.
Fluctus civiles, *turbæ*, 25. 6.
Forma imperatoria, *imperatore digna*, 11. 3.
Fortuna ut si in manu ejus esset fortuna, *ab ipso regeretur, ad arbitrium flecteretur*, 13. 3. fortuna

tunâ secundâ, *de successu*, 1. 2.
fortuna virtuti par, *de bonâ fortunâ & felicitate*, 18. 1. fortuna, *de infelicitate, adversa fortuna*, 17. 5. non simplex, *utraque*, 20. 1. fortuna, *pro conditione, statu*, 7. 9. conversa subito fortuna est, *rerum status & vices*, 25. 10. fortunam suam occulere, *statui suo & celebritati latebras quærere, tum formæ tum securitatis*, 7. 9.
Forum, in foro esse cœpit, *fori studiis & civilis actus rudimentis operam dare*, 24. 1.
Frangi curâ rerum, *angi vehementer*, 10. 7.
Fregellæ, *opp. Lat.* 23. 7.
Frui aliquo, *convictu alicujus*, 25. 20.
Fructus, fructum pietatis ferre, *præmium*, 25. 5.
Frustrari seipsum, *nocendi signif.* 23. 2.
Fugam alicujus sublevare, *de expulsô & hoste judicato*, 25. 2.
Fugere, *vincere*, 15. 5.
Fugere procurationem reip. *abstinere eâ*, 25. 15. non fugit me, *satis intelligo*, 10. 2.
Fulget indoles virtutis in eo, *explendefcit*, 18. 1.
Fulvia uxor Antonii, 25. 9.
Funesta victoria *detestanda*, 15. 10.
Fungi munus militare, 14. 1. functus summis honoribus, *qui magnis rebus præfuit, multum in imperiis magistratibusque versatus est*, 2. 8.
Funus nullius ex suis vidit, *de morte*, 21. 2.
Furius, *L. Cos.* 23. 7.

G.

GALEA venatoria, 14. 3.
Gellius, *Q. Canius*, 25. 10.
Geminus, *Cn. Servilius*, 23. 4.
Genus antiquum, 21. 2. *progente, natione*, 21. 2.
Generatus ab origine, *oriundus*, 25. 1.
Generosus, *de nobili familiâ dicitur*, 2. 1 generosa fama eorum *fama ex majoribus generosis*, 10. 1. generosi condiscipuli, *animo erecto excelsoque præditi*, 25. 1.
Gerere, *pro administrare*, 34. 2. gerere res magnas, *efficere*, 22. 3. rem malè, *uti adversâ fortunâ*, 1. 3.
Geri, *effici*, 4. 2. gerere amicitiam, *exercere*, 14. 19.
Gladii minuti, *breviores*, 11. 1.
Globus consensionis, *numerus conspiratorum, factio, cohors*, 25. 8.
Gloria belli, *bello gesto parta*, 4. 5.
Golonæ, *pl. locus agri Troadis*, 4. 3.
Gongylus Eretriensis, 4. 2.
Gortynii, *Gortyna urbs Cretæ*, 23. 9.
Gracchus, *T. Sempronius*, insidiis perit, 23. 5.
Gradus, *sc. honoris & amicitiæ*, 18. 1. imperii secundus, *proxima à rege dignitas*, 9. 3.
Græcæ literæ, *de linguâ Græcâ*, 23. 13.
Græci libri Hannibalis, *ibid.*
Græcia, *pro incolis Græcis*, 15. 5.
Graius saltus, 23. 3.
Gravitas Lacedæmoniorum, *insuspendendâ, dum res penitissimè exploraretur, fide*, 4. 4.
Grunium in Phrygiâ castrum, 7. 9.
Gymnasium Timoleontium, 20. 4.
Gynæconitis, *præf.*

H.

HAbere, quemdam ſe habere, *ut valetudo ejus comparata eſſet*, 10. 2. ut haberet, quò fugeret ad ſalutem, *h. e. locum, quo fug.* 9. 10. habere amorem alicujus magnum, *amari*, 20. 3. contentionem cum aliquo, *diſceptare*, 17. 1. aliquem ſecum, *convictum notat*, 25. 4. quæſtionem de, *intellig. cognitio judicialis*, 7. 4. aliquem ad manum, *uti alicujus miniſterio*, 8. 1.
Haberi numero ſapientium, *reputari*, 8. 4. malè *vexari, detrimentis multis affici*, 18. 12.
Haliartus, *urbs Bœotiæ*, 6. 3.
Halicarnaſſia civis, 2. 1.
Hamilcar, 22. 1.
Hannibal, 23. 1.
Haruſpex, 20. 1.
Haſdrubal malè audit ex contubernio Hamilcaris, 22. 3.
Haſtæ brevis, *modus duplicatus*, 11. 1.
Haſtile, 15. 9.
Helleſpontus, 4. 2.
Helotes *ſervi Lacædæmoniorum*, 4. 3.
Helvius, *C.* 24. 1.
Hemerodromi Græc. *q. d. Curſores diarii*, 1. 4.
Hephæſtio magni æſtimatur, 18. 2.
Heraclides interficitur, 10. 6.
Hercules Graius, 23. 3.
Herculis progenies, 17. 1.
Hermes Andocidis, 7. 3.
Hetærice, *ita vocabatur honoris cauſâ ala equitum apud Macedonas, ab amicitiâ & veluti ſodalitate regiâ*, 18. 1.
Hibernacula, *pro Hibernis, aliàs pro ipſis tentoriis ſumuntur, ſive pro pellibus, ſub quibus antiquitus milites hiemabant*, 17. 3.
Hiems, *pro tempeſtate*, 25. 10.
Hierophantes, *genus ſacerdotii Athenienſis*, 16. 3.
Hilaritas, *voluptas animi*, 15. 8.
Hipparinus, 10. 1.
Hippo, *urbs African.* 22. 2.
Hipponicus, 7. 2.
Hirta tunica, *hirſuta, hiſpida*, 14. 3.
Hiſpania citerior, 24. 2.
Hiſtaſpes Darii pater, 21. 1.
Homerus, 14. 2.
Honor regni, *pro ipſo regno*, 17. 1.
Honoribus operam dare, *accedere ad honores & remp. capeſſere*, 24. 1. honorificentiùs, *honoratius*, 18. 1.
Hortari milites, *prælio firmare*, 1. 6.
Hortenſius, 25. 5.
Hoſpitio alicujus contineri, *eſſe inter hoſpites*, 6. 1.
Humilis veſtitus, *vilior*, 17. 8.

I.

IAM tunc, 13. 3.
Jaſon Tyrannus, 13. 4.
Icetas vincitur, 20. 2.
Ignorare aliquem, *non nôſſe*, 3. 1. ignorare nolui te iſta, *docere volui*, 25. 21
Ludere aliquem, *callidè invento fallere*, 25. 10.
Illuſtris adoleſcens, *generis reſpectu*, 22. 3. illuſtre eſt ei maximè *inſigne ad famam*, 21. 1. illuſtriſſimum prælium, *celeberrimum*, 4. 1.
Illuſtrari, *ad famæ celebritatem pervenire*, 2. 1.
Imago conſuetudinis, *vitæ deſcriptio*, 15. 1.
Imitari conſuetudinem gentis, *moribus ejus vivere*, 7. 11.
Imminere, *moliri oppreſſionem*, 18. 10.
Imminere animi magnitudinem, *minùs quam* frangere, 18. 5.
Immoderatâ licentiâ, *vulgi ſcil. libertatem ſuam, intemperanter, habentis, & in licentiam vertentis*, 7. 4.

Immo-

Immodestia, *licentia militaris, & dedignatio parendi*, 6. 1.
Immortalis pugna, *dicitur cujus memoria est perpetua*, 15. 10.
Impedimenta, *scil militaria, ut farcinæ, instrumenta, vehicula, &c.* 8. 2.
Impelli auctoritate alicujus, *moveri*, 1. 5.
Impendere, *imminere, de mox futuris*, 18. 10.
Imperare, *summam belli administrare*, 14. 5.
Imperium majus, *de prolatis finibus*, 1. 6. imperii summam tenere, *imperare urbi, præesse cum perpetuo imperio*, 1. 3. non magis imperio, quàm justitiâ, *non tam potestate jurisdictionis, quàm æquitate administrationis.*
Imperium, *militaris præfectura*, 3. 2. abrogare, *scil. ducibus*, 15. 7.
Impetus, *repentina oppressio*, 7. 8. hostium, *incursus*, 12. 1. impetum facere, *impressionem*, 17. 3.
Implicitus magnis rebus, *ex difficultate cœptorum in varias emergendi angustias conjectus*, 4. 4.
Impotens dominatio, *intemperantis imperii insolentia & abusus potestatis notatur*, 6. 1.
Imprudens *inscius*, 6. 4. imprudentem hostem opprimere, *inopinantem*, 18. 8.
Impugnare prior voluit, *de singulis qui alteri ictum inferre priores conantur*, 8. 2. impugnare *aliquem, adversus aliquem pugnare*, 15. 10.
Incensus, *irritatus, infestus*, 18. 10.
Inceptum, *propositum*. 10. 8.
Incestus Oedipi, 15. 6.
Inclinatæ sunt copiæ, *fugam spectant*, 16. 5.
Incurrentes, *qui in hostem impetum faciunt*, 12. 1.
Index, *qui rem defert*, 4. 4e
Indicium, *narratio, manifestatio*, 4. 4. indicio sunt ei rei, *pro ejus rei indicium*, 25. 16.
Indicare se, *se ipsum prodere*, 4. 4.
Indidem Thebis, 15. 5.
Indigere alienarum opum, *de exule*, 23. 1.
Indigna, *iniqua miseranda*, 19. 4.
Inducere in insidias, *pellicere*, 23. 5. ad bellum, *permovere*, 23. 8. Plato inducit Socratem, *personam alicui tribuere, actionis aut sermonis gratiâ*, 7. 2. induci ad credendum, *adduci*, 9. 3.
Indulgere alicui, *favoris honorisque respectu, quem exhibemus viro bene merenti*, 10. 2. indulgere *de creditoribus solutionem debiti non urgentibus, ad moram connivantibus*, 25. 2. indulgere, *de dissolutâ educatione*, 10. 4. dolori, *ejus impetum sequi, obsequi dolori*, 21. 1. sibi, *licentiæ*, 6. 1. sibi liberaliter, *splendidius vivere* 12. 3.
Industria summa, *de studio actûs civilis, & officiorum vitæ*, 2. 1.
Infamis, *per flagitia*, 15. 10.
Infamatus à plerisque, *vituperatus*, 7. 11.
Intectis rebus, *non effectis*, 1. 7.
Inferior copiis, *sic* superior, *de majore & minore numero*, 14. 8.
Inferre bellum in Italiam, *bello Italiam petere, vel eam sedem bello legere*, 22. 3. inferre, signa, *in hostem ire*, 14. 6. mala in domum alicujus, *vexare, detrimentis afficere domum*, 2. 9. inferri eò, *dicitur*, corpus mortui, *sepeliendum scilicet*, 4. 5.
Infestus Romanis animus, *de hestili odio*, 22. 3.
Inficias ire aliquid, *negare*, 15. 10.
Infirmus, *scil. viribus armorum*, 18. 3. infirmissimi, *scil. potentiâ*, 2. 6.
Infodere, *de sepulturâ*, 4. 5.
Ingratiis, *vellent, nollent*, 2. 4.

Injicere admirationem sui, *excitare*, 11. 11. non ampliùs quàm pellis est injecta, *de strati tegumento*, 17. 3.
Inimica patriæ consilia, *seditiosæ molitiones*, 4. 3. inimicissimum suum, *vocant Romani Hannibalem*, 23. 12.
Inire consilia, *de proposito & molitionibus seditiosis*, 6. 3. inire gratiam ab aliquo, *mereri apud aliquem*, 7. 9. talem rationem ad interfic. *capere tale consilium*, 23. 10.
Iniens adolescentia, *incipiens, prima*, 2. 1.
Initium tenue, *occasione tenui rei oblat.* 16. 2.
Inopinatæ res, *felicitas spe uberior*, 10. 6.
Insciente, *inscio*, 18. 12. inscientia belli, *imperitia*, 15. 7.
Insequi, *vexare*, 25. 9.
Inservire studiis gentis, *imitari mores & consuetudinem*, 7. 11.
Insolens quid, *de elato sermone*, 20. 4.
Instare hosti audaciùs, *urgere*, 15. 9.
Inflat tempus proficiscendi, *adest*, 7. 4. instans periculum, *imminens, impendens*, 4. 3.
Institutum vitæ, *ratio, consuetudo*, 25. 7. instituta patriæ, *respectu habito ad formam reip.* 17. 4.
Insuetus malè audiendi, *de eò qui sinistrè de se opinantes ægrè fert*, 10. 7.
Insula Scyrus, 5. 2. Lemnus, 1. 1. Cyclades, 1. 2.
Intemperantia, *licentia militaris*, 18. 8.
Inter, obtrectârunt inter se, *pro invicem*, 3. 1.
Intercedit cupiditas major, *scil. intervenit consiliis melioribus*, 10. 1. interceſſit nullus temere dies *ferme, singulis diebus*, 25. 20.
Interdici non potest socero gener, *contubernium & convictus generi*, 22. 3.
Interesse rebus privatis, publicis, *plusquam nudam præsentiam notat*, 20. 4.
Interfectus exercitus host. *delctus, occidione*, 3. 2.
Interit pecunia, *prodigitur*, 2. 2.
Internecio, ad internecionem gesta *bella ad partis, aut partium interitum*, 18. 3.
Interponere, *de judicio, sententiâque scriptioni insertâ*, 16. 3.
Interponere se, *ope suâ intervenire, facultatem rei conciliare, pecuniâ mutua juvare*, 25. 2.
Interpretari, *rationem reddere*, 25. 3.
Intueri, *animadvertere*, 12. 1.
Invehi multa in aliquem, *alicujus exagitandi ergò probra spargere*, 15. 6.
Inventum, *consilium, ars, strata-gema*, 12. 1.
Invidere aliquid, *pro ob aliquid*, 8. 4.
Invidus potentiæ populus, *qui ob potentiam invidet*, 15. 3.
Invidia non opprimitur acerbitate, sed tenetur obsequio, 10. 6. invidiæ crimen, *ex invidiâ impositum*, 7. 4. invidiâ minore esse, *minùs sentire invidiam, minùs peti invidiâ*, 18. 7.
Iones, 1. 4.
Ionia, 1. 3.
Iphicrates, 11. 1. Iphicratenses milites, *pro præstantibus*, 11. 2.
Ire, *cum exercitu scil.* 17. 3.
Is, non sum is, qui, *non ejusmodi homo, vel tali animo præditus*, 17. 5.
Ismenias captus, 16. 5.
Ister, *fluv.* 1. 3.
Istiæus Milesius, *ibid.*
Judicare aliquem exulem, *judicio exilium decernere*, 23. 7.
Judicandum est utilitate, *secundum utilitatem*, 25. 13.

Judicium capitis, *cùm quis accusatur capitis*, 15. 9. judicium fit de hoc, *habetur*, 19. 3.
Julii divi filius, 25. 19.
Jumentum, *de equis*, 18. 5.
Jupiter Ammon, 6. 3. Feretrius, 25. 20. Opt. Max. 23. 2. Jovis antistites, 6. 3.
Jus, jure suo, *meritò*, 8. 1. jura patriæ, hospitii, *respectu obligationis, quibus patriæ aut hospiti obligamur*, 13. 4.
Jussu populi, *formula democratica*, *ibid*
Justitia, *pro æquitate civilis animi, ac ἐπιεικείᾳ*, 3. 2.
Justus, *cognomen*, 3. 1.

K.

KAlendæ Aprilis, 25. 2. Karthaginenses à Lutatio vincuntur, 22. 1.

L.

LAbeo, *Q. Fab. Cos.* 23. 13. Labor animi, *contentio*, 7. 1. laboro quærere de hâc re, *annitor, studeo*, 16. 3.
Lacedæmonii Græciæ domin. 9. 4.
Laco, *pro Agesilao*, 13. 1.
Lacon, *pro Lysandro*, 7. 10.
Laconica, *scil. regio*, 13. 2.
Lacrymare casum alicujus, *illacrymare alicui*, 7. 6.
Lamachus, 7. 3.
Lamiscius, 20. 5.
Lamprus, *Musicus*, 15. 2.
Lampsacum, *urbs*, 2. 10.
Lapis, *de milliari*, 25. 22.
Largitiones effusæ, *ferè in malam partem usurpatur hæc vox, de iis quæ ambitûs causâ donantur*, 25. 6.
Latere, *occultam esse, ignorari*, 17. 6.
Laus liberandarum Thebarum, *gloria ex commendatione liberationis ejus*, 16. 4. rei militaris, *fama, rebus bello gestis parta*, 1. 8. victoria illa est, *in eo fit laudabilis*, 17. 4. in summâ laude esse, *laudari*, 11. 2.
Lautè vivere, *splendidè, liberalius sibi indulgere*, 12. 3.
Laxare vincula epistolæ, 4. 4.
Lectoris satietas & ignorantia, *quarum hæc ex nimia brevitate, illa ex multitudine*, 16. 1.
Legationem suscipere, *obeundam in se recipere*, 2. 6. legationes, *pro ipsis legatis*, 15. 6.
Lemnus non vult se dedere, 1. 1.
Lenire invidiam, *mitigare*, 10. 6.
Leonidas Rex Lacedæm. 2. 3.
Leonnatus, 18. 2.
Leotychides, 17. 1.
Levare inopiam, *sublevare, subvenire*, 25. 2.
Leucosyri, *qui nunc Cappadoces*, 14. 1.
Leuctra, *vicus Bœot.* 17. 6.
Levis armatura, *pro militibus levis armaturæ*, 14. 8. levis, *expeditus*, 11. 1. levis non liberalis, *qui plura promittit quàm præstat, non tam facilitate officii, quàm temeritate linguæ*; leviora sunt mihi, apud me, *duco leviora*, 15. 1.
Libenter detrahunt de iis, *vitium animi ad detrahend, proni notantur*, 12. 3.
Liberalitas, temporaria, callida, *quæ temporis & spei causâ fit*, 25. 11. liberaliter polliceri, *prolixè*, 6. 4.
Libertatis species, *pars indicium*, 20. 5.
Librarii, *servi quorum operâ in exscribendis & curandis libris veteres utebantur*, 25. 13.
Lignea mœnia, *ænigmaticè de navibus*, 2. 2.
Ligures, 23. 4.
Literis coli ab aliquo, *de familiaritate epistolaris commercii*, 25. 20.

Literæ, *pro ſtudiis*, 23. 13. literæ Græcæ, *pro linguâ*, ibid.
Locus non æquus, *iniquus incommodus*, 1. 5. locus *pro occaſione*, 22. 1.
Longum eſt enumerare prælia, *formula eſt præciſionis*, 23. 5.
Longus, *Tib.* 23. 4.
Loqui, *ferre rumoribus*, 22. 3.
Lucani, *pro regione Lucan.* 23. 5.
Lucretius, 25. 12.
L. Lucullus. 25. 5.
Lumina oculorum, *pro oculis*, 20 4.
Lutatius C. fud. Karthagin. 22. 1.
Lycus, *Pater Thraſybuli*, 8. 1.
Lyco, *Syracuſanus*, 10. 9.
Lydi, 14. 8.
Lydia, 9. 2.
Lyſander, Lacedæm. 6. 1.
Lyſimachus, 3. 1.
Lyſis Tarentinus, 15. 2.
LLS. 25. 4. *Seſtertium antiqui his modis exprimebant*, IIS. HS. LLS. *duarum librarum & ſemiſſis charactere, ſuperpoſita lineola, millenarii index, ſeſtertium in neutro ſignif. Vid. Budæum & Glarean.*

M.

MAcrochir *(Longimanus) Artaxerxes*, 21. 1.
Magiſtratus, *imperium, prætura belli*, 1. 8.
Magneſia, *urbs Aſ. apud Mæandrum, fl.* 2. 10.
Majores res appetere, *de ambitioſis noviſque conſiliis*, 4. 2.
Maleſica natura, 17. 8. nanciſci naturam maleficam in corpore, *nihil aliud, quàm in corpore naturæ aliquem errorem ac deformitatem præferre.*
Malum externum, *bellum cum ext. geſt.* 22. 2.
Malitioſè facere, *cum aliquis culpâ ſuâ & de induſtriâ rem male gerit*, 7. 7.
Mamercus Italicus capitur, 20. 2.
Mago frater Hannibalis, 23. 7.
Manceps, *qui à populo aliquid emit conducitve, ejus rei quoniam ſublatâ manu indicium facit, ſeque auctorem profitetur*, manceps, *dicitur*; *vid. Sigon.* 25. 6.
Manere, *expectare hoſtem*, 2. 4. in officio, *obſequii ſc. & fidei*, 9. 3.
Manere, *ratum eſſe*, 7. 10.
Manubiæ, *prædam ſive pecuniam ex præda redactam intelligit*, 5. 2.
Manus ad manum habere, *miniſterio alicujus uti*, 18. 1.
Manus, *exercitus & copia*, 1. 5. manum conferere, *acie contendere*, 14. 8. manum dare, *victorum eſt & ſuccumbentium*, 22. 1.
Marathon, *campus*, 1. 4.
Marathoniâ *pugnâ*, 2. 2. *Marathonium* tropæum, *pugna, ſeu pugnæ gloriæ*, 2. 5.
Marcellus, *M. Claud. Coſ.* 23. 13.
Mardonius quis, 4. 1.
Marius hoſtis judicatus, 25. 2.
Maſſagetæ, 21. 1.
Mater patri prælata, 11. 3. filii pœnam promovet, 4. 5.
Media, 18. 8.
Mederi ſatietati lectoris, *ne ſatietate obtundatur, cavere*, 16. 1.
Medimnus *(& medimnum) Græcorum menſura, Romanos ſex modios capiens*, 25. 2.
Meditari animo, *conſituere apud ſe*, 17. 4.
Mel cadaveribus circumfuſum, *conſervabat ea à putredine*, 17. 8.
Memor gratuſque, *quodam ſententiæ genere juncta*, 25. 9. memor virtutem priſtinarum, *non tam memoria quàm memoriæ efficacia & inſtinctio ad aliquid notatur*, 23. 12.
Meneclides, 15. 5.
Menelai portus, 17. 8.
Meneſtheus, *filius Iphicr.* 11. 3.
Mens, *propoſitum, conſilium*, 16. 1.
Menſa ſecunda, 17. 8.

Mentio, *de totâ expositione vitæ*, 15. 4.
Mercenarii scribæ, *non fine notâ vilis animi & operæ hæc vox honestis & industriis viris, qui fidem potiùs quàm lucrum spectant, majorumque rerum actores sunt, opponitur*, 18. 1.
Merere stipendium, *militare*, 24. 1.
Messena constituta, 15. 8.
Micythus, 15. 4.
Miltiades, 1. 1.
Minervæ ædes, 4. 5.
Minùs diebus, *minùs quàm diebus*, 2. 5.
M. Minutius Rufus, M. E. 23. 5.
Q. Minutius Cos. 23. 8.
Mira comitas, *magna*, 1. 8.
Mirabilis cupiditas, *vehemens, ingens*, 1. 5.
Miscere plurima cupit, *de seditiosis, & turbulentis seditionibus*, 4. 1.
Mithridates Ariobarzanis fil. 14. 4.
Mithrobarzanes, 14. 6.
Mitylenæi quid Pittaco donârint, 8. 4.
Mnemon Artaxerxes justitiæ famâ florens, 21. 1.
Mobilis, *populus inconstans*, 13. 3.
Moderata vita, *civilitatis respectu*, 13. 4.
Mocilla, *L. Julius prætor*, 25. 11.
Moliri, *de conatu rei magnæ*, 7. 10.
Molossi, 2. 8.
Momenti nullius esse, *auctoritate scil. amissa*, 7. 8.
Monumentum, *sepulchrum*, 25. 22. monumenta, *indicia rei memoriam conservantia*, 2. 10. *dicuntur à* monendo.
Mos, *ad* morem majorum, *h. e. instituta* inde à majoribus propagata, 5. 1. mores civitatis, *consuetudines, instituta*, 25. 6.
Mos crudelitatis, *ipsam crudelitatis usurpationem exprimit*, 8. 3.
Morem gerere, *obedire*, 14. 4.
Morum præfectus, 22. 3.
Movere se, *scil. ex pristinâ habitatione*, 18. 6. movere, *persuadere*, 2. 4. moveri auctoritate alicujus, *scil. ad fidem habendam*, 9. 4. moveri quæ possunt, *vulgo mobilia bona*, 2. 2.
Motus concursusque, *prælantium, sc. bellantiumque*, 11. 1.
Mulctare, lex mulctat more, *mortis pœnam constituit*, 15. 7.
Multitudo, *populus*, 7. 3.
Munire itinera, *vias faciendo itineri aptare*, 23. 3. munitiones, *opera obsidentium*, 18. 5.
Muri lignei, quo commento instructi, 2. 2.
Mutare arma, *alia invenire*, 11. 1.
Mutina, 25. 9.
Mycale, *urbs Cariæ*, 5. 2.
Mysteria facere, *Cereris sacra arcana*, 7. 3. *alio nomine* initiare, *vide Justin.* 5. 1.
Myus, *urbs Asiæ*, 2. 10.

## N.

NAnciscì causam idoneum, *sc. opportunè, commodè, oblatam, captamve*, 2. 6. hostes navalem nacti diem, *scil. tempestatem ejus diei, in consilium verterunt, suo usui accommodârunt*.
Natu magno, *substantivè, ætatis ratione*, 4. 5.
Natura experta in hoc quid efficere possit, *significat autem hic* Natura *grandius, tanquam effectrix rerum, &c.* 7. 1. naturæ debitum reddere, *mori*, 21. 1. neque id natura solùm fecit, *naturali ingenii propensione*, 25. 17. naturâ civitatem eâdem, *translata consuetudo*, 1. 6.
Naturale bonum, *naturalis quædam gratiæ apud omnes obtinendæ felicitas*, 8. 1.
Naves onerariæ, *serviebant commeatui transvehendo*, 2. 2.
Naxus, *insula*, 2. 8.
Ne, *pro an*, verum, falsumne, 14. 9.

Neceſſarius homo, *ſignif. propinquitatis, de ſocero*, 14. 6.
Neceſſitas, *de urgente calamitate*, 2. 8.
Neceſſitudo. *affinitas*, 10. 1. neceſſitudo ſortis, *collegarum ſorte lectorum conſenſio, & vinculum conjunctioque notatur*, 24. 1.
Nectanebus, *rex Ægypti*, 17. 8.
Negotium ſuſcipere, *de re mandatâ efficienda*, 27. 15.
Neocles, 2. 1.
Neoptolemus cadit, 18. 4.
Nepos Corn. *laudat librum ſuum* de Hiſtoricis, 10. 5.
Neptuni fanum, ἄσυλον. 4. 4.
Nero, C. Claudius, 24. 1.
Neſcio quo modo, *formula frequens*, ἀποφητική, 7. 11. quod neſcio an ulli, *h. e. quod ſcio nulli contigiſſe*, 20. 10.
*In* neutram *partem, neque hoc neque illo reſpectu*, 25. 13.
Nicanor Caſſandri præfectus Piræeo potitur, 19. 2.
Nicias, 7. 3.
Nilus flumen, 18. 5.
Nitor recuperare, *laboro*, 16. 2.
Nixus in cubitum, *erigentis ſe habitum notat*, 25. 21.
Nitida jumenta, *pinguia, non ſtrigoſa*, 18. 5.
Nobiles, *populo & civitatibus Democraticis* inviſi, 7. 4.
Nocere ſupplicibus, *dicitur de illata pœna damnove*, 17. 4.
Nomen, *pro famâ*, 1. 8. nomen Romanum, *cum granditate quâdam pro populo*, 23. 7. nomen, *titulus ſine re*, 15. 5. nominatim, præcipuè, *expreſſo nomine*, 1. 1.
Nora, *caſtellum Phrygiæ*, 18. 5.
Notare loca, *ſigno & obſervatione*, 14. 11. notare res ſine nomine, *exprim. ſcrib.* 25. 3. notari, *annotari, præſcribi*, 25. 18.
Nota virtus, *cum laude inſignis pariter ac perfecta*, 5. 3.
Notitia, ob notitiam intromiſſi, *tanquam noti*, 10. 9.
Novæ res, *inſolita*, 14. 6.
Novum conſilium, nova ars, *elegantèr dicuntur ſignificatione inventi tam ſolertis, quàm neceſſarii*, 18. 8.
Noviſſimo tempore, *extremo*, 18. 1.
Nubere alicui, *fœminarum eſt*, 5. 1.
Nudare vaginâ telum, *diſtringere*, 14. 11.
Numen Deorum, *notat hîc auſpicium, curam*, 17. 2.
Numentanum prædium, 25. 14.
Numerus decemplex, 1. 5. in hoc numero fuit, *aliàs* in eis, *inter eos*, 1. 3. numero copiarum fretus, *multitudine*, 1. 5.
Numidæ fruſtrà inſidiantur Hannibali, 23. 6.
Nutu ejus gerunt omnia, *h. e. arbitrio, placito*, 6. 2.
Nyſæus, 10. 1.

## O.

Obductâ nocte, *obſcurâ minimèque ſerenâ*, 23. 5.
Objicere ſe hoſti, *de eo qui oppoſitus hoſti*, 23. 5.
Obire legationes, *ſuſcipere, mitti, legatum agere*, 10. 1.
Obniti, obnixo genu ſcuto, *h. e. obnixo in ſcutum, obfirmato genu ad ſcutum*, 12. 1.
Obruere gladios, *infodere*, 14. 11.
Obſequi ſtudiis ſuis, *iis cum ſtudio & opportunitate inſervire*, 25. 2.
Obſequium, *comitas*, 10. 6.
Obſes retentus, *legationis miſſæ cauſâ*, 2. 7. obſidem rei eſſe, *obligare fidem ſuam hoc futurum, vel non futurum eſſe*, 19. 2.
Obſideri, *urbs dicitur, cujus arx, ſc. jam eſt occupata*, 16. 1. obſideri undique, *cum exitus omnes cuſtoditi ſunt*, 23. 12.
Obſiſtere, *objicere ſe*, 17. 4.

Obsoletus honor, *glorioso opponitur, spretus.* 1. 6.
Obstrepere consiliis alicujus, *propositum intervertere,* 10. 9.
Obstinatio pertinacitas, *obstinatio propositi pertinacitatis diuturnitate ostensa significata,* 24. 22.
Obterere laudem virtutis, *includit significatum contemptus ac suppressionis,* 20. 1.
Obtigit ille quæstor Scipioni, *ita sæpe Romani auctores de magistratibus sorte datis.* 24. 1.
Obtinere locum eundem, *idem officium gerere.* 18. 13.
Obtrectare, inter se, *sc. non æmulari tantùm, sed adversari sibi mutuò,* 3. 1.
Occasione datâ, 22. 1.
Occasus, *mors,* 18. 3.
Octavius Cæsar Atticum familiariter, per epistolas colit, 25. 20.
Oculorum lumina, *oculi,* 20. 4.
Odium civitatis, *in civitatem,* 13. 3. odium ejus in hoc viro tantum est, *adversus hunc virum,* 19. 4.
Œdipus parricida & incestuosus, 15. 6.
Offendere, *absolutè, offensionem incurrere* 19. 2. offensa voluntas in aliquem, *infensa infesta,* 10. 7.
Offendere aliquem imparatum, *deprehendere,* 17. 2.
Offerre se periculo, *audere rem periculosam,* 16. 2.
Officia præstare alicui, *tanquam civis civibus & magistratui, cum notâ obsequii erga imper.* 1. 2. urbana, *scil. solemnibus negotiis in urbe præstare solita,* 25. 4.
Officio tribuere aliquid, *honesti rectique studio facere,* 25. 6.
Officium, *de obsequio imperantibus debito,* 1. 7.
Oleaginæ virgulæ, *& ex iis corona,* 8. 4. *victoriæ symbolo oblata, Nam à ludis Olympicis feria transferre ejusmodi res usitatum & elegans.*
Olympias, mater Alexandri, Eumenis consilium, mox & auxilium implorat, 18. 6.
Olympiæ victor, *præf.*
Olympiodorus, *tibicen,* 15. 2.
Olynthus, *urbs Thraciæ,* 16. 1.
Onomarchus custodum præfectus, 18. 11.
Onustus prædâ, *copiam dicit & ubertatem,* 7. 5.
Opera, *officiosa scil. in iis quæ amicis aliisve præstamus,* 5. 4. operâ ejus acciderunt res adversæ, *culpâ,* 7. 6.
Operire, *obtegere,* 23. 9.
Opes, *pro potentiâ* 15. 6. opes magnas prosterneie, *magnam vim hostium ac numerum, adèoque potentiæ hostilis partem non minimam,* 1. 5.
Opes alienæ, *potentia, patrocinium,* 23. 1.
Opinio, de quo quanta fuerit opinio eorum, *quid judicaret,* 18. 13.
Opulentis, 12. 3.
Opus, opera, *munitiones,* 1. 7.
Ora Asiæ, *extremitas,* 7. 5.
Ordinatæ copiæ *quæ in acie stant,* 11. 2.
Ordiri reliquos, *vitam reliquorum exponere,* 7. 11.
Ordo equestris, *dignitas ordinis equestris,* 25. 19. ordo, *locus in agmine,* 14. 9.
Orestes matricida, 15. 6.
Origines Catonis, 24. 3.
Ornamentum habere ab aliquo, *honores & opes intelliguntur,* 25. 7.
Ornatus elephantus, *instructus ad pugnam,* 23. 3.
Oronte, *interpositum, sermoni, ut aliàs quæso amabo,* 25. 4.
Ostendere, *præ se ferre. causam allegare,* 10. 4. renunciare, 23. 12.
Oitracismus, 5. 3.
Otium, *de statu & facie pacis,* 22. 2.

P.


PActio, *inducarum ſcil. juramento ſancita*, 17. 2.
Padus, *fluv.* 23. 4.
Palæſtra, *quomodo utendum*, 15. 2.
Paleſtræ vocantur, *quæ aliàs* Gymnaſia.
Pamphylium mare, 23. 8.
Pandates, 14. 5.
Paphlago, *pro Thyo*, 14. 2.
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